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LIVES
OF
THE LEADERS
OF
OUR CHURCH UNIVERSAL,

FROM THE DAYS OF THE SUCCESSORS OF THE
APOSTLES TO THE PRESENT TIME.

THE LIVES BY EUROPEAN WRITERS FROM THE GERMAN,

AS EDITED BY

DR. FERDINAND PIPER,
PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

NOW TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH, AND EDITED, WITH ADDED
LIVES BY AMERICAN WRITERS,

BY
HENRY MITCHELL MACCRACKEN, D. D.

vol. 1.

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PREFACE.

SOME three years since, while I was seeking in New York city material for a volume asked of me by a Western publisher, I was met by the suggestion that I should undertake the translation into English and the editing of the lives of Christian leaders for all the days of the year, recently published in Germany under the editorship of Dr. Ferdinand Piper, of the University of Berlin.

The fact that the suggestion was made by Dr. Charles A. Briggs, of Union Seminary, to whom the work had been transmitted by Dr. Piper, with a view to its publication in America, and that both he and Dr. Philip Schaff, in repeated conversations, recommended it to me as deserving a place in every Christian family, inclined me to take up the task suggested. After letters had been exchanged with the German editor, and his consent obtained to my bringing the work out in the English language, with such changes as might seem advantageous, I began to apply myself, as my other engagements permitted, to the labor of presenting these popular yet scholarly life-stories of Christian witnesses to English readers.

The task thus entered upon presented two parts. First, the translating and editing of the lives published in Germany. Second, the adding of the life-stories of leaders in the church in America, and in certain pagan lands, passed over by Dr. Piper. To make plain what I have done under the first head, I will state briefly the origin, scope, and form of the work in the German.

In the year 1850, Dr. Ferdinand Piper offered, in a church-diet at Stuttgart, the following thesis: "The whole evangelical church in German lands is interested in forming a common roll of lives for all the days of the year, to be settled on the foundation of our common history, and thus to be made a bond of union of the churches in all the countries."

In relation to the thesis, let it be noted that the Christians of Germany

did not, at the Reformation, cast away as many of the old usages as did reformers in other countries. They did not cast away organs; nor, although they utterly put aside prayers to saints, did they abolish the connection of the names of Christian worthies of past ages with the days of the year, but preserved it even as Americans maintain the association of the name of Washington with February 22d. The forming of the roll of Christian worthies was left, however, very largely to accident. Every little German land made its own calendar. There arose great diversity, and often names were inserted upon local or political grounds. Martin Luther's was the only name universally adopted in addition to the men of the early centuries. Thus, it may be seen, there was an opportunity and also a call for such a movement as that suggested in Dr. Piper's thesis, which should present German Christians a new roll of names for their almanacs, and also a new book of lives for their Christian households, thus stimulating them to fulfill the precept, "Remember them who have spoken unto you the Word of God."

A powerful argument for giving to Germany such a roll of lives was the necessity of meeting Romanist assertions that the honored fathers and leaders of early days were papists, in the present sense of the term papist, and not rather, with all their mistakes and superstitions, evangelical or Bible Christians.

The chief argument for the book, however, was that next to God's Word, Christians, for their own edification, ought to know (to use the words of Dr. Piper) "the doings of God in the history of his Church," and "the manifestations of his Spirit in the witnesses commissioned and enlightened by Him ever since the day of Pentecost."

These and like considerations impelled Dr. Piper and other scholars to give to the German church the "improved" roll of names, and the new book of lives of church leaders. Their medium for this was at first a periodical established for this special end in 1850. This "Year Book," as it was called, presented new and correct lives of the leaders from the pens of able and eloquent writers. Dr. Neander, who died that same year, left several lives for the book, as will be seen by the present volume. The array of authors, as the table of contents will show, includes many of the most celebrated Christian scholars of Germany as well as some of France, Britain, Holland, Switzerland, and Scandinavia. For twenty-one successive years the "Year Book" continued the presentation of the lives. Finally, the roll was ended. Dr. Piper then edited the

completed biographies, which were published by Tauchnitz (1875). The work has been met with great favor by the church. The roll of names contained in it has been officially published and commended by the German government.

The considerations which weigh with German Christians are, perhaps, to be equally regarded by men of English tongue. The call for combating a false definition of the Church comes to us also. Bewildered souls seeking a house of God on earth are too often guided to an edifice whose keys are kept in Rome by the chief of an ancient, self-perpetuated corporation. Knowing as we do that the true Church has been seen ever, where any body of men has risen, "a pillar and a stay of the truth" (1 Timothy iii. 15, marginal reading), ought we not to keep this visible form of all the centuries before men's eyes, and pointing to it say, Here is the Church, the true succession of "John and Cephas, who seemed to be pillars" in every circle of faithful upholders of essential Christianity?

Do we omit from the roll of church pillars since the Reformation the Roman Catholic, the Greek, the Copt, and the Nestorian? It is not that we would deny such a place in the Church Universal. Like the Ephesian wonder of the world (which, perhaps, rose before the mind of him who, in writing to his friend in Ephesus, gave us the simile just quoted), and like its forest of shafts, each a pillar and a stay of the sheltering roof of rock, this edifice, the Church of God, incloses uncounted varieties of pillars, and all of them are truly parts of it if so be they uphold the truth of the living God. Yet Greeks, Romanists, and the rest are hardly "leading" supports of truth, nowadays, contrasted with evangelical Christians. Nor will they become so till they are cleansed of the moss and decay of the centuries. The safe rule for all who will find the Church in any age is, Find men who uphold the truth as it is in Jesus, and who gather clustering groups of columnar Christians around them, supporting the same. Here is the Church, beyond controversy.

But the main object of our German brethren, namely, to familiarize Christians "with God's doings in the history of his Church," is the chief end for us also. It may be safely affirmed that by far the larger half of Christian families have in their libraries not a word as to their church or its leaders from the end of the Acts to the annals of the Reformation, unless perhaps in some such caricature of Christianity as the volumes of Dr. Gibbon. This ignorance respecting fifteen Christian centuries is not altogether a contented ignorance. This I have proven by the following

experiment. Setting up a third church service at an unusual hour upon the Sabbath afternoon, in which besides the usual devotions was offered a brief discourse presenting "God's doings in the history of his church," I have for forty successive Sabbaths in a year seen assembled out of a new and busily occupied city population more hearers than attend upon the average service of Sabbath evening. Moreover the themes presented were received with marked expressions of interest from Christians of various names, and even from those not Christians. I have thus been led fully into Dr. Piper's view that the edifying of the Church may be promoted by ministers speaking from time to time to their people of "the manifestations of God's Spirit in witnesses commissioned and enlightened by Him all the way from Pentecost." Whatever commendations of our Divine cause may be found in the notable lives of each century the wise believer will not neglect to offer, especially in days when if the foundations be not destroyed it will not be because they are not assailed in every mode and from every quarter.

The editor does not present in his English work all the lives included in the German. He wished to keep the book of a popular size. He considered, too, that as we are better acquainted with the Church in the Acts of the Apostles from our introduction to but a few of its leaders, so it might be here. There have been omitted, therefore, first, all lives of leaders in Bible times, a large company; second, all those peculiarly local or German; third, other lives which, hardly less interesting or important than those now offered, have been left out to make room for lives in America, Asia, Africa, and Oceanica. These last it is hoped may one day be called for by readers, and along with them others, especially of English, Welsh, and Scotch leaders, in recent centuries, which many will be surprised to miss. They are not here because not in the German. Should the call arise, the editor will strive, with help from writers in Great Britain and Ireland, to present the Lives of the Leaders in a second series.

The life-stories offered are in every instance given entire. The following changes have, however, been made to render the book more attractive. (1.) For the numerous divisions of time in the German, five periods have been substituted by the editor, of his own choosing. (2.) Portions of the lives which seemed parenthetical or of secondary importance have been placed in footnotes. (3.) At the head of each life have been set the date of the birth and of the death of the person commemorated, and also a

word indicating his position in the church, clerical or lay, or his denomination.

The title of the book I have translated very freely, preferring the second word by which Isaiah describes the servant of God to the first word in the same verse (Isaiah lv. 5, "A witness . . . a leader . . . to the people"), and so calling the work the Lives of the Leaders rather than the Lives of the Witnesses, the last word being somewhat worn in English literature.

For the cut-in notes, which are not in the German, I alone am responsible. They promise aid to the reader as well as attractiveness to the page.

It remains to say something concerning the second part of my task, the adding of life-stories of leaders in America, and of pioneers in other great regions passed by in the German, namely, Africa, China, Burmah, and South America.

The suggestion that in adding American lives I should regard denominations was given me by Dr. Schaff, and was at once accepted. To establish a fair and good rule I laid down the following: (1.) In every denomination in the United States with five hundred parishes to find one "leader." In every denomination with over three thousand parishes to find "three mighty men," and if such denomination prevailed in colonial times, to add to the three, one, two, or three others. (2.) To take no account of the division of denominations into northern and southern, and yet when taking three mighty men, to apportion them between the East, and the West and South. These rules have been followed strictly, save that the Lutheran body is given but one leader on the ground that it is so largely represented in the German. The Episcopal Church is given but one, because it did not reach three thousand parishes in the statistics of 1877, though now it reports more than that number. Four denominations are each given three or more leaders, while ten have each one leader. These fourteen bodies include, as will be seen by the Table of Statistics (Appendix III.), forty-nine fiftieths of the evangelical church in the United States.

In choosing American leaders I have followed less my own judgment than that of eminent men in the respective denominations, having had correspondence upon the subject with, perhaps, fifty distinguished scholars, exclusive of the many who appear as writers.

In choosing a leader in China and other lands I have in like manner sought competent tribunals of opinion. To the many eminent men who have lent me aid in this, I here express my very great obligations.

And now in closing what has been these three years a labor of love and a recreation from other toils, I find an especial source of pleasure in the thought that this book may prove a new bond of love in the church in America, the more from the fact that it will go out bearing the imprints, each on a distinct edition, of a large portion of the denominational publication houses of this continent. In agreeing to take a part in its simultaneous issue, each of these houses courteously introduces to its own communion the leaders of other churches not as "strangers and foreigners," but as dear brethren. "Such a work" (I quote the words of the venerable Dr. Whedon, in his letter to the Methodist house approving of the plan of this book) "will be a symbol of the Church's true spiritual unity."

H. M. M.

ORANGE PLACE STUDY, *Toledo, Ohio*, 1879.

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THE LEADERS

OF

OUR CHURCH UNIVERSAL.

THE CHURCH'S SPREAD IN THE SOUTH.

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LIFE I. SYMEON OF JERUSALEM.

A. D. ?—A. D. 109. IN THE EAST, — PALESTINE.

THE leadership in the mother church of Christianity was given first to James, the Lord's brother. A confessor and martyr of Jesus Christ, he died at Jerusalem a valiant death. No doubt exists that this was before that siege of the city in which the Jewish state, capital, and Temple were all of them brought to an end. There is only doubt whether it was very shortly before the catastrophe (in the year 69), or some six or seven years earlier, in the eighth year of the reign of Nero (62-63). The earlier date seems the more likely.

Then Symeon, in place of James, by the unanimous voice of those interested, became the leader of the Christian community at Jerusalem. A report which we find in the Church History of Eusebius (iii. 11) makes the event a very solemn one. The Apostles and immediate disciples of Jesus, as many as were still living, Chosen pastor. gathered from all quarters to Jerusalem. In company with the relatives of Jesus, of whom several were still alive, they consulted who best deserved to be the successor of James. With one will they recognized Symeon, son of Cleopas, as deserving of the overseership in that place, since he was a cousin of the Saviour. This evidently is a picture out of a later age, not agreeing with the accounts which this chronicler (338 A. D.) inserts elsewhere from Hegesippus, his predecessor by at least one hundred and fifty years. The latter certifies thus much: that Symeon, the son of Cleopas the uncle of Jesus, and blood cousin of the

Lord, was unanimously chosen successor of James, the Lord's brother. The man's character, no doubt, and the confidence he excited, contributed to this distinction. But the historical evidence makes it clear that blood kinship with the Lord was added as a great weight to the scale. This plainly marks the Judaizing tendency which prevailed in the primitive church in Jerusalem, before the destruction of the city.

Since Symeon was advanced to the leadership of the Christian Church of Jerusalem, and had become its pastor before the outbreak of the Roman and Jewish war, it may be safely accepted that he, like the whole Christian society there, at the end of the year 66, or in the beginning of the following year, before Vespasian commenced his campaign, left the city, and went to the village of Pella, east of the Jordan. There they found, during the tempest of war, a place of quiet rest, under the divine protection.

After the fulfillment of the divine judgments upon the Jewish people, the Christian congregation established itself anew in Jerusalem, where, among the few unharmed edifices left, was the Christian Church Returned from exile. (to use the name given it at a later date) standing upon the Hill of Zion. Symeon, with the Christian society, seems, after the return, to have enjoyed a long period of quiet. The church of Christ was not yet obliged to war with Gnostic sects. As Hegesippus expresses it, she was yet a pure virgin; corruption of doctrine intruded itself at first slowly and in secret.

It may be believed, from our knowledge of the conditions then existing, that the vindictiveness and envy of the unbelieving Jews were showing themselves in an increased hatred of the Christians. Their hatred led, in the reign of the emperor Trajan (98-117), to a formal accusation, on the side of the Jewish party, of Symeon, as a descendant of David and as a Christian. The charge thus appears, like the process against Jesus, to have been twofold, proceeding partly from the political point of view, partly from the religious. Descent from the royal line of David had already, under the earlier reign of Domitian (81-96), been made a pretext, upon which several Christians, grandchildren of Judas, who was brother of Jesus, were carried on suspicion to Rome, and brought before the emperor in person, who, however, recognized them as poor, harmless people, and liberated them. On this ground a charge was now based. It succeeded so far that Symeon was denounced before the Roman provincial authority in Palestine, from his blood kinship with Jesus and his descent from the royal line of David, as one who went about meditating insurrection, usurpation, and the seizure of the government. The other ground of accusation, closely connected with the former, was Symeon's confession of Jesus as the Messiah.

His examination was ordered. He was interrogated throughout several days under the tortures of the rack. He made confession of Jesus

Christ so steadfastly that the Roman governor and consul, Atticus, himself, and all those present, wondered beyond measure how an old man of one hundred and twenty years could so endure every-thing. Finally, by order of the governor, he was cruci-^{Tried and cru-}fied. This occurred, Eusebius informs us, in the year 109 of our Lord. Symeon, accordingly, since he was reputed to be one hundred and twenty years old, must have been born earlier than Jesus. So this loyal spirit, after he had led the church in Jerusalem full forty years, and had, to the end, in presence of Jews and Pagans, confessed the Saviour, was made like to Jesus Christ, his kinsman in the flesh and his Redeemer, in the horrible death, also, which he suffered. — G. L.

LIFE II. IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH.

A. D. 30 ?—A. D. 107. IN THE EAST, — SYRIA.

AMONG the martyrs greatly deserving of our admiration and love, whose blood, absorbed by pagan soil, was the earliest seed of the church and helped mightily its triumph, Ignatius, leader at Antioch, the contemporary and disciple of the Apostles, holds a front place. Report says he was brought to the knowledge of Christ through the Apostle Peter or John, and was ordained by Paul or Peter as the latter's successor in the city of Antioch. History associates him certainly with ^{With the Apos-} these Apostles in his rejection of Judaism and hearty ac-^{ties.}ceptance of the gospel; in his magnifying the names of Christ and Christianity; and in his joining the deep mystic feeling of a John with the justifying faith of a Paul.

Ignatius was early made a sainted model in the church of Syria. When music grew to be a fine art in Antioch, his name was used in order to recommend the dramatic display which, it was said, was a copy by him of the hallelujahs of the cherubim. Still earlier they gave this champion of the faith the name of Theophoros, or bearer of God. A sensible interpretation, in harmony with the tone of his letters, would have made this mean that Ignatius bore Christ lovingly in his bosom. But the Middle Ages, after their manner, imparting coarseness to the most spiritual things, spread the fable that Ignatius had the name of Christ literally in gold characters on his heart. In all the round of traditions only this is certain: that Ignatius, not long after the beginning of the second century, suffered a martyr's death, and as a martyr became the light of the Syrian church.

We reject the ancient legend which makes the emperor Trajan guilty of his death, when in his campaign against the Parthians he wintered in Antioch. It is incredible, from its inherent difficulties, and from the

silence of the Church Fathers till the sixth century. We will confine ourselves to the Fathers, or, what is still weightier, to the text of the letters universally attributed, in ancient times, to Ignatius. We thus find that for his Christian confession, and as a highly esteemed bishop of the Syrian church, he was, on the occasion of a persecution breaking out at Antioch, condemned to be put to death. The sentence was that he should be torn to pieces by wild animals at Rome. Already (in

Sentenced to
death.

A. D. 100) this horrible mode of execution was in favor with Christian-hating and ambitious governors. They would ingratiate themselves with the populace by offering a new sensation in their public shows.¹ Ignatius was conveyed to Rome, partly by water, partly by land, in a kind of triumphal procession. From Smyrna to Troy, he traversed Asia Minor; from Neapolis to Dyrrhachium he went on the military road over Macedonia and Illyria. In Smyrna he was met by deputies from Christian cities, some of them accompanying him over the peninsula as a guard of honor. This expression of hearty sympathy, in which Christians joined as sharers of like salvation and like hopes, grew into an affecting emulation, as it strove to sweeten the martyr's last moments. Ignatius uttered his thanks in five letters from Smyrna and Troas, sent to the churches of Asia Minor, and in one to Polycarp, the bishop of Smyrna. In them, as in his letter to the Romans, he gives us an insight into his courage in the face of death, and into the mighty thoughts, cares, and hopes that were stirring his breast. They are songs of praise and victory, by a departing spirit.

Letters on the
way.

He is assured that leaving the world is ascending to God. He will leave as a legacy to the hearts of believers what his soul feels and what he knows will be most precious in the time to come. The incidents of arriving and departing well-wishers, and of letter-writing, employed by some as arguments for our distrusting the story of his journey, were entirely in accord with Roman usages in cases of arrest (Acts xxiv. 23, etc.). Sometimes opportunities for them were secured through gifts to the guards, such taking of bribes being only too common in the history of the early martyrdoms. The parody on Christianity made in the middle of the second century, by that clever scoffer Lucianus, may easily have got its points from the suffering of Ignatius. He tells that the philosopher and adventurer Peregrinus was for a long

¹ What governor sentenced Ignatius is not told; but the truth of this account of his death is marked by the absence of any mention of Trajan in all the Fathers that speak of the martyr or his letters. The appointed authority of the region, the governor of Syria, no doubt pronounced this sentence. An evidence how very common it was for condemned persons to be sent to Rome, or to other provinces, for food to the beasts of the amphitheatre, is a law of the third century, making such transportation require the approval of the emperor. A letter of Ignatius to the Romans is thus explained, which adjures the Christian community in Rome not to oppose by untimely intervention the execution of the death sentence pronounced against him. He feared their appealing to the emperor, which according to Roman law had been legal, even though without the consent of the condemned, or against his express desire.

time with the Christians, and when a prisoner in Palestine received deputies from the Christian churches in Asia to comfort and enliven him, and sent letters to nearly all the noted cities. The historical truth of the travels of Ignatius and the existing corruption are further indicated in his letter to the Romans (5th chap.): "From Syria to Rome," he says, "I have fought with beasts by land and by sea, day and night bound to ten leopards, whom gifts only made more fierce." The unanimous tradition of the ancient church declares that Ignatius obtained the martyrdom he ardently desired. About the year 107, he was torn to pieces by wild beasts in the Colosseum at Rome.

The seven letters left are the chief memorial of the work of Ignatius, as well as of his closing days. They present the picture not of a perfectly educated Christian, but of a thoroughly religious person, well rooted in love of divine things, and full of character and originality.¹ They afford us, indeed, few glimpses into the doctrine that was taking shape in that formative period. For Ignatius was far less a man of thought than of action; he had more talent for church organization than for scholarly research. Whatever he says on the foundation truths of Christianity is more a song of praise than a dogma; more the utterance of exalted feeling than a logical, well-weighed, exact confession of faith. When he attempts speculation upon God's essence, even with happy, uplifted heart, he either verges on mistake in his doctrine of Christ and the Trinity, or else approaches Gnosticism, which on

Death in the
Colosseum.

Doctrinal
views.

¹ This true picture has suffered martyrdom even till now. For Ignatius had the misfortune to have his name connected with a mass of apocryphal writing. Besides, he was the enthusiastic panegyrist of a hierarchical constitution, which by Protestants is readily counted unchristian. Hence, the prejudiced critic looks on all his letters as corrupted or forged, and on the man as a myth. Yet both points on which doubts are based, namely, the Judaistic-Doctetic heresy denounced in the letters, and the episcopal dignity honored in them, are not at all at variance with the peculiarities of the culture of the times. On the contrary, their rise and their growing form assigned them in these letters belong to no other date, so probably, as the one described in these writings. It was a misfortune that before the seven letters were known in the shorter Greek text, which alone bears the stamp of authenticity, there was a counterfeit, which transformed the nervous original into the common style of later orthodoxy; also that a few centuries ago a greatly abridged text of three of the letters in the Syrian language was brought to light. These, careful investigation has shown, are only dry, religious maxims. Thus was strengthened the mis-trust of writings which, riddles as they were, appeared at best only the work of some hierarchical propagandist. Yet, if we look at these letters as a whole, or at their features in minutest detail, — the style of their Christianity, which, with no trace of apostolic freshness and unconstrainedness, yet shows great simplicity of doctrine and life; which, joyfully building its trust on Christ's divinity and his true humanity, yet shows nowhere marks of scholastic formulas or restrictions; the assured faith which needs no vindication through texts out of the Testament; the crude style of heresy, with the institution of the episcopate, both which are evidently half-way between their germs in apostolic times and their development about the middle of the second century; their marked originality of feeling, imagination, fire, power, not only when they breathe love to the Saviour's image and long for the martyr's crown, with even eccentric expressions of emotion, but also when their pure flame mingles with selfishness and bears the stamp of nature, and especially when they do not maintain their great heat, but are hotter or cooler, according to circumstances, and reflect the inward tumult in the sharp, incisive, vague, variable turn of the style, — when we look at the external guarantees, also, prevailing from his contemporary, Polycarp, to the Father of Church History, Eusebius, giving warrant of his genuineness, there can be no doubt with any one who is not prejudiced, nor utterly wanting in historical penetration, that in these seven letters of Ignatius there has been preserved an authentic and uncorrupted memorial of the early Christian literature.

other occasions is stoutly opposed by him. He yet rests his life on the Saviour as God, as his God. He knows Him as the Logos, from eternity with the Father, far above all sight or comprehension; sprung not from the thought of man, but the silence of God. He bears marked witness to the great mystery of the incarnation, and the work of redemption bound up therein; how the Most High reveals Himself in Christ; how Christ, as the son of a virgin of David's race, ate and drank like others, under Pontius Pilate truly suffered and truly died upon the cross, and by God's power rose again. In the certainty of this story of God's salvation, and especially of Christ's dying, he finds the strong anchor-hold, the purpose and desire of his life. "Why am I in bonds," he exclaims to the Docetes, "if all this is a false pretense? Why yield I myself to death, to fire, to sword, to the jaws of wild beasts?"

Yet, though as a rock in the sea he abides in the Apostles' Creed, he has no hesitation in speaking of God's blood and God's sufferings. He has no thought that he strikes at the root of Christ's divinity when he admits him to be God's son by the mere will of the Father. He threatens to turn the world-transfiguring work of Christ into a natural process, or into wizard's work, when he describes the three sublime mysteries which God in his counsel and foreknowledge wrought out, to wit, the choice of the Virgin Mary, her motherhood, the death of Christ and his saving power, as a sudden star transcending all the constellations, flashing upon the skies.

On the other hand, Ignatius with eloquent lips pours forth precious words, as, letting go speculation, he dwells on the substance of the gospel. He portrays it the perfect means of saving and perfecting the soul. His words grow often majestic, solemn, and most touching. They have the ringing notes of bell-chimes. The concise, sententious language, almost oracular in its rhythmical tone, well suits the grandeur of the theme. The impressiveness increases, when, as if from out the gray morning dawn of the upper world, he bids a final adieu to all that is earthly, or praises the vision of God's love in Christ, overcome by its heavenly beauty. Christianity is to him the one only thing. With grand historic vision he finds every good and beautiful deed before Christ, not only culminating in Him, but proceeding from Him, a Christianity before Christ's birth. He likens Pagans and Jews, that never speak Christ's name, to sepulchres, on which the word Man is an empty title. He ascribes small insight into Christianity and its glory to those who make it a thing of appearance or a form of speech. It is downright thorough work. It is noble achievement, especially when persecuted by men's hatred. It is not profession so much as strong believing to the end. Better be silent and be, than speak and not be. Everything should be done in the thought, Christ dwells in us; we are his temple; He is in us, our God. And what are the doors through

which the wealth of gospel grace is poured into the life of the redeemed? Ignatius shows by his answers that, stimulated as he is by both Paul and John, he likes best to walk with Paul, whose character, energetic and imposing, whether in deed or suffering, is more akin to his own disposition than that of the contemplative John, who loses himself in God. "Faith and love," he affirms, are everything. In them begin all the Christian virtues; towards them do they tend. First, faith lays hold of Christ's salvation. When, as the beginning of the new life, it has supplied force and direction, love steps in and reveals and completes the union of man with God. Whoever has faith sins not; love casts out hate. There are two mints, God's and the world's; each has its distinct impress. Believers in the love implanted by Christ have God's stamp put upon them. Ignatius opposes the inaction of the Quietist, who revels in feeling; and also the presumption of the Pharisee, trusting in self-righteousness.

But the most characteristic features in the portrait of Ignatius are not these rules of salvation, however evangelic and fruitful. The greatest attraction in his life purpose is his ardent love of Christ, as it meets us, fresh and plastic, in his letters. In the fullest sense it is a personal love, throbbing in each pulse. It is the best part of life. It includes in it everything that gives life, comfort, strength, exaltation, peace, and blessedness. He seeks Christ, who died for him; he will possess Christ, who for his sake rose again. In Christ he finds not only all the riches of redemption, of knowledge, and of love, but he finds God there. In his overflow of feeling, Ignatius reveals a peculiar turn of mind, due to his fervid temperament and the burning sun of Syria. Seldom symmetrical, he yields to a passionate excitability and exaltation, of which he is himself well aware. He says: "Passion in me is not visible to many, yet it presses upon me the more. I am without the calmness by which the prince of this world is overcome." Hence, the impatient chafings against the barriers of life, the looking on the martyr's death as the highest goal; hence the high-wrought self-consciousness. Knowing he possesses the loftiest treasure, the life of God, although in an earthly tabernacle, he is tempted, when he thinks of this possession, to glory in his knowledge, his courage, and in himself. Hence the exaggerated humility as, reminding himself that this tabernacle is yet neither pure nor perfect, he passes judgment upon himself in severest terms. Ignatius relentlessly names himself, as if copying Paul, "one born out of due time," and "a castaway."

A character thus strong, yet from its changing and contradictory disposition and impulses needing to be moulded into symmetry, is sure to be misunderstood. It is hardly strange, then, that a certain Protestantism, which would rectify history after its own doctrinal conceptions or prosaic standard of merit, finds that the piety of Ignatius was affectation.

his humility a cloak to disguise hierarchical pride,¹ his wish for martyrdom a superstitious overestimate of the act itself. A healthy Christian feeling that estimates its fragmentary knowledge by the wisdom of God's Word certainly opposes Ignatius when he speaks as follows (to the Trallians) : " In God, I know much," he says, " but I set bounds to my knowledge, that I may not fall through boasting and vainglory. I could write to you about heavenly things, but I fear it might do harm to you who are under age. Nor can I, because a captive, understand the things of heaven, the orders and employments of angels, the seen and the unseen. In all these I am only a learner." His religion is thus tainted with an egotism that goes with him even to God's altar; or it turns to a gloomy avoidance of the world, and, forgetting the divine love shown to earth, thrusts from itself earthly things as degraded. They are not worth care, or are abominable, as nests of temptation and barriers to soaring upwards to God. Hence his martyr-vehemence which calls out eagerly for death, as the lot assigned him by God, which seems to regard death in itself as the victory over the world and entrance to heaven. Such feeling, that to be in fetters for Christ is the beginning of real submission, and to have the sword near the heart is to have God near, urges Ignatius to entreat the Romans not to deprive him of the fate marked out for him, the martyr's death, nor compel him to resume his pilgrimage, so near its end. " God's grain of wheat am I, to be ground by the teeth of wild beasts, that I may be

¹ Ignatius has especial note in history as a champion of an episcopate, giving the first strong impetus to monarchical church government. He was led to this by no selfish interest to be promoted by a hierarchy; nor does he recognize a special priesthood, by whose help, as by a ladder, believers must attain ascent to the treasure of heavenly grace, or obtain the descent of grace, as if they were not themselves God's people, with direct access to Christ through faith. He builds the pyramid of church offices on the apostolic ground of the equal rights of all. He gives to its head the leadership, not because of any right or commission to rule, but because thus the church beholds the embodiment of its conception of Christianity, — one spiritual light illumining our life. No trace is shown of a complex organization which brings all disciples into an outward society ruled in subordination to a chief.

Yet Ignatius is eminently a man of unity. As he knows he is himself a unit, so he only follows the law of his being in insisting on unity; he beholds in unity the life and soul of Christianity, the foundation of the church's structure. " We have one Christ, whose glory none can approach unto. The Lord gathers you all into one temple, to one altar, to one Jesus Christ, who from one Father came forth, and returning, dwells ever with one."

He does not find this unity perfect, in that Christianity is one in doctrine, in belief, and in love. Ignatius wishes this principle of oneness also wrought out in the church constitution. That community alone praises Christ that with one voice sings to the Father in Christ, is one in harmonious hearts and loyal to their bishop, and the presbyters inseparably joined unto him as strings to a lyre.

Invitation to hearty adherence to the bishop is the chief theme of the seven letters; not that upholding the bishop is the chief end, but it is the most effectual and indeed the only way to defend the congregation against the seductions of heresy. The churches are still generally free from errors and schism. There are isolated heresies, active enough and developing, yet sneaking in secret places. They touch, however, the very heart of Christianity, whether they hold the old stand-point of Jewish literalism, or bring the truth of salvation into question by denying the chief facts of Christ's life, his incarnation, his death and resurrection. These sectaries let alone the existing church authority, but joined themselves in separate worship, and in a spiritualized supper, by which they hoped to obtain closer communion with a certain ethereal Christ. Against such heresies, which, overthrowing everything, gave Christians no certain faith, nothing to fight for, no scientific attain-

turned into the pure bread of God! Oh, that at once, without delay, I may find these fierce monsters who are awaiting me. I will flatter and caress them, to make them swallow me up quickly; if they refuse I will compel them. . . . What is to my profit I know. . . . Fire and cross, wild herds of fierce beasts, sundering and scattering of my bones, lacerating of my limbs, bruising of my whole body, the most awful torments of Satan to rack me, — only let me force a passage through them, and reach Jesus Christ." What heroic, but what presumptuous language! It is not his voice who, knowing his hour was come, prayed that the cup might pass from Him. It is a longing more emotional than spiritual, and a great way from Christianity. Yet Ignatius is just as far from the belief that the martyr's death in itself is the blossom of Christian piety. When one in spirit feels the jaws of beasts closing on him, and yet prays fervently that it be for Christ's name, he surely makes martyrdom nothing, a work of no merit, apart from a godly life. His joy at martyrdom is certainly exaggerated, morbid, and easily misunderstood. But the full and undivided communion with the Lord which Ignatius sought before everything in his martyrdom was a right thing to desire. "My love is crucified," he cries in ecstasy, "and in me no earthly thing kindles the slightest flame. The new birth is at hand; forbid me not to live; let me receive pure light. Attaining it, I shall be God's child. I want God's bread, bread of heaven, bread of life, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, God's son. I want God's wine, his blood, which is love unperishing, which is life forever flowing."

ments, Ignatius had no better weapon than the establishment of an institution which, as he believes, would carry them back to the Apostles and Christ, and so to God. With a vehemence as if salvation itself depended upon it, he impressed upon the congregation that the church, if she discarded her bishop, with no head, with no hand, firmly guiding the whole, as also the individuals, would fall into all error and schism. Thus the episcopate is placed on a dizzy height, since the bishopries, as the expressions of church oneness, are no other than visible representatives of Christ. At first, however, this bishop is an officer in but one community, with no reference to the entire church. He stands, to the presbyters who surround his seat in a sacred wreath, as Christ to the Apostles. He takes the first place in God's stead, the presbyters are the Apostles' company, the deacons have in trust the deacon's office of Jesus Christ. To all these the congregation owes reverence and obedience. To the bishop they should look as to Christ himself. Thus rises the structure, yet confined to its own borders, up to the world unseen above.

If we grant that in the bishop, as Christ's representative, the glory of Christ is shown, then must follow what Ignatius claims for the office: namely, that all Christian communion, and all participation in salvation, is conditioned on connection with the bishop; that no sacred service has efficacy without his cooperation or authorization. One prayer, one request, one mind, one hope, should, when believers meet together, unite them in love and perfect joy. "Whoever is within the altar, — that is, whoever through the bishop has visible communion with the church, — he is pure." "Whoever is not within the altar, deprives himself of the bread of God."

The beginnings are here of an ecclesiastical structure, which, gradually spinning many forms and ceremonies around religion, at last drew Christianity back to the Old Testament position of a theocracy dominating the world. The episcopacy of Ignatius was not, strictly speaking, hierarchical. It had no special priestly castes. Obedience to the bishop was voluntary submission to authority, which was recognized by Christians as the reflection of their own united will, and a bulwark against worldliness and heresy. The bishop stood at the head of the congregation as a father above his children. Yet the germ was here of the whole after hierarchy. The universal papacy was but the last link of the chain which was hung on the neck of the churches when Ignatius derived the power of the episcopacy from its relation to Christ. The mistake of Ignatius was in not calculating the chances of abuse, and in overlooking, in his joy at his ideal, the reverse side of this ecclesiastical institution.

Such an impulsive spirit, concentrating its whole force on the point that occupied it, is likely to seem one-sided. Its complete portrait must be obtained by combining its lineaments and expressions in their due proportions. Ignatius is known to us in but one hour of his life. It is an extraordinary time, suited to agitate every fibre of his being, physical and mental. Special trials, of which he says nothing; the daily annoyances from his guards, and the constantly shifting scenes on his march through Asia Minor; the martyr crown drawing ever nearer, with the inborn love of life resisting; the inconsiderate demonstrations of the citizens, such as arose from the early Christian overestimate of martyrdom, — these circumstances combined to expose the severe traits of his character more than would have been the case in the ordinary course of life. Judging his last moments carefully, we have in the portrait of Ignatius certainly no saint, nor even the likeness of superior spiritual greatness, but a man, true, noble, sound at heart, who, with all his eccentricities, calls forth our sympathy, because of the fervor with which he clings to this one thought, Christ, — the All in All. — K. S.

LIFE III. JUSTIN THE MARTYR.

A. D. 96 ?—A. D. 166. IN THE EAST, — PALESTINE.

JUSTIN the Martyr was born in Palestine, in Flavia-Neapolis, the ancient Sychem. He began life probably in the century of the Apostles. Of his parents we know this only, that they were of Greek descent. He himself tells us that he was educated in the heathen beliefs. His culture was influenced by his various surroundings. He could derive little satisfaction from the Roman paganism, in that period of its utter decay. For, since the original simplicity of manners was gone, the watch-word of the many was only *To Win and To Enjoy*. Manners were grown so corrupt that the better men of the time could not find colors black enough to portray the midnight darkness. Like description is given also in the Epistle of Paul to the Romans (i. 21). The fabulousness of the old mythology was long since no secret to the dullest. Even the priests smiled in meeting one another. Earnest spirits sought “comfort in multiplied services, ceremonies, and mortifications. Some sought truth in the blending of various religions and philosophies. Others, in eager thirst, traveled over land and sea to find peace and assurance concerning things divine.” To this company of seekers belonged Justin. The thirst for knowledge early possessed him. The need of his heart was to have revealed to him the hidden nature of God. With this design he turned to the famed philosophers of his day. After many illusions, he seemed near his aim. For he was promised by the disciples of

Plato, the old Greek philosopher, a full revelation of God. About that time he was first led by the Lord's hand. His attention was aroused by the steadfastness and cheerfulness with which he saw the Christians go, for their faith, to the martyr's doom. He felt that sensualists and cannibals (as the Christians were represented by pagan hatred) would never face death thus fearlessly. As he saw their enthusiasm for an invisible, spiritual God, he was led by his own struggling desire to anticipate something divine in the religion of the cross. But whether it was that this impression was still too transient, or his trust in human teachers was yet too powerful, this earliest contact with the Christians had now no further result. Yet his heart was made ready for a second gracious manifestation of saving love. That he might give himself uninterruptedly to the contemplation of divine things, Justin often resorted to an uninhabited spot. He was met there by a man of gray hairs, and gentle, venerable aspect. The sudden encounter led to a conversation. The old man was a Christian. He took occasion, seeing from Justin's philosopher's cloak that he was a disciple of philosophy, to place before him the unsatisfying nature of all worldly wisdom. When Justin manifested pain at his disclosures, the old man directed him to the true teachers of wisdom, the prophets of the Old Testament, whom God's Spirit inspired. From them he could obtain full explanations on everything worth knowing for salvation. Finally, he dismissed him with the admonition: "Above all else, pray that the doors of light may be opened to you; for no one can understand these truths without enlightenment by the Spirit of God and of Christ." While the old man thus spoke, it happened to Justin as once to the disciples on the way to Emmaus: his heart burned within him when he saw the Lord; yet he knew not it was the Lord. A deeper penetration into the Old Testament Scriptures, and an acquaintance with the "Friends of Christ," completed his conversion. Everywhere in the Old Scriptures he found sublimity of spirit, simplicity, harmony, and foresight of things future. In his intercourse with Christians he was captivated by the words of Christ, full of majesty and blessing. His inquiry, earnestly prosecuted, ended with the conviction that Christianity is the only true and saving philosophy.

In this conviction, he at once discovered a heavenly voice to decide him in his future calling. With the maxim that "whoso can proclaim the truth, and does not, incurs God's judgment," he took the pious resolve to help the building up of God's kingdom by going thenceforth as a traveling evangelist. With this purpose he journeyed, traversing the chief countries of the Roman Empire unweariedly till death. The widest and most inviting field was in Rome itself. Here, therefore, he stayed longest, establishing a mission school for Greek youths. On all his travels he still wore his philosopher's man-

His nameless
instructor.

Becomes an
evangelist.

tle, as that dress gave him easier opportunity for entering upon religious conversation. The success attending his many-sided activity can hardly be determined, because of the few records of that period. But if it be true that a good word commonly finds a good lodgment, and if the remarkable reverence in which Justin was held by the later church be taken as evidence, then Justin was one of the most important instruments the church possessed. He did not have the gift, it is true, like a Paul, of speaking with tongues. His speech had never that flow which, overwhelming as the mountain torrent from its secret cliffs, sweeps all before it. His eloquence yet welled forth continually from a heart full of enthusiasm for the gospel. What it lacked in motion it made up in clearness and warmth.

Justin's writings left us are wholly of the order of Christian apologetics and polemics. For, at the opening of the second century, the first thing was to introduce Christianity to mankind. A thousand circumstances, misconceptions, and passions opposed its reception. Simply to announce the new doctrine, and proclaim the harmlessness of Christians, would not suffice. The untenableness of existing religions and worships must be proven. Besides, then, first, educated pagans in great numbers were inclining to the gospel, and learned opponents were assailing its doctrines and promises. A further task, therefore, was to prove the truth of Christianity. In such condition of affairs Justin rightly went forth as preëminently an advocate of the gospel, and conducted his advocacy by scientific methods. He put in the foreground the prophetic testimonies and types of Christ from the Old Testament. In the relation between prophecy and its fulfillment, the finger of God was to him plainly visible. "Who could believe," he once even asks, "that a crucified man is the first-born son of God, and will one day judge mankind, if evi-
His evidences of Christianity. dences of this were not given from the time before his incarnation?" This proof from prophecy received strength from the whole ancient drift of thought. The church named it, by way of eminence, the demonstration of the Spirit. The cultured pagan made the difference between God and man consist chiefly in this, that God alone has insight into the future. But Justin had an eye as well for the moral splendor of the gospel. Indeed, as often as his discourse takes a higher flight, it is as he portrays the effects seen in the regeneration of men. "God's power, and not human eloquence, achieves this," he exclaims on such an occasion. He delights in comparing the pure morality of Christians with the depravity of heathendom. "We who once rejoiced in sensuality," he boasts in this connection, "now live in chastity; we who practiced intrigues, live now to God; we who esteemed money and property above all else, sacrifice our means to the common welfare; we, who pursued each other with hatred and murder, live at one table, and pray for our enemies. For not in words merely, but in

works, does our piety consist. Or he collects sayings of the Lord, in order to show on what a lofty elevation God has placed Christianity. In this appears what diligent use Justin makes of God's Word. The Scripture is the heart-blood on which his spiritual life is nourished. He knows no higher proof of a truth than that it is asserted in the Bible. "None," he says, "can rightly find a fault in what the prophets have said or done, if he thoroughly understands them. For, filled with the Holy Spirit, they have spoken only what they have seen or heard." Justin's use of the term Holy Scriptures for the New Testament Evangelists is of especial weight; for it gives us the assurance that at so early a date (Justin wrote several of his works before the year 140 A. D.) the Gospels were recognized as works of the Apostles and their disciples, and on this ground used in all the principal churches for Scripture readings in public worship.

Among the bitterest enemies of the Christians, in the days of Justin, were the Cynic philosophers. For the world-despising superiority to earthly needs which these philosophers put on, often with vulgar coarseness, merely for a hypocritical pretense, shone forth in the Christians in unaffected splendor. These mock saints made it their especial business, wherever they went, to drag high and holy things in the dust. Religion had value to them chiefly as a means to their selfish ends. Hence they opposed the followers of the Crucified who were offensive through their piety, counting in this on the concurrence of the heathen ^{His foe, Cres-} populace. A worldly-wise man of this kind was the Cynic ^{cens.} Crescens, at Rome. As he was once, after his manner, caricaturing the Christians there as atheists, to divert the crowd, Justin, with frank speech, revealed to the people the source whence the hateful accusation sprang. He had had occasion before to tear the masks from the faces of these hypocritical deceivers of the people. He called this calumniator, without reserve, an ambitious agitator, to whom popular applause was everything, the truth nothing. The answer of the philosopher, thus put to shame, does not appear. But at his instigation Justin was publicly accused as a despiser of the Roman gods, and with him six of his companions. The account given us of the last hours of Justin shows the same nobility of spirit and courageous faith that elsewhere make the forms of the church fathers so venerable and beloved. The heathen prefect asked the accused in regard to the doctrine of Christians. Justin replied, "We believe in one God, as the maker of all things created, who, invisible and exalted above space as He is, fills heaven and earth; and in Jesus Christ, as God's Son and the teacher of truth, as the prophets have before predicted." On the further mocking question of the prefect whether he also truly believed in his own ascent to heaven, after that he were beheaded, he gave the modest, magnanimous answer, "I believe that if I endure this, I shall receive Christ's gift of grace; yes, I know

this so surely that there is no room for doubt." The prefect, in order to intimidate the martyrs, then ordered that the accused be sacrificed to the gods. To this Justin replied with the confession, "We wish nothing more than to suffer for our Lord Jesus Christ; for that gives us joy in prospect of his fearful judgment, before which the whole world must appear." With this the patience of the judge was exhausted. Accord-
 Beheaded. Last ing to the law against contumacy, he pronounced the pen-
 words. alty of death; and Justin, with his associates, suffered the martyr's death, beheaded by the sword (166 A. D.). Thus did Justin, also, by his blood, sow the seed of the church. He had once given the assurance, "If they kill us, we will joy." His death, worthy of a Christian philosopher, made his pledge good. If, like a church father of that day, we say the church is a tower, builded from the living members of its communion, then is Justin surely one of the white foundation stones with which the spiritual building begins. — K. S.

LIFE IV. POLYCARP OF SMYRNA.

A. D. 81—A. D. 167. IN THE EAST, — ASIA MINOR.

POLYCARP is one of the holiest visions of antiquity. He takes a marked place among its eminent men, first because of the time and place of his advent. He immediately succeeded the Apostles. He was privileged to sit at the feet of John. He is the only one, of all who were so favored, the account of whose personal intercourse with the Apostle has been handed down to us. He lived in Asia Minor, in that age the most stirring scene of Christian life and the home of many great teachers of the church. There, too, great errors arose, and contending spirits, in opposing which Polycarp took part. To this first cause of emiunice is added Polycarp's own character and martyr death. Of this we have a precious record, unequaled in the literature of the century. Besides this, other notices of him exist, fragmentary, indeed, but which still help, when put together, to complete the picture.

Polycarp, it appears, was born at the close of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth decade of the first century. His youth fell among the last of those who had seen the Lord. He was acquainted with many
 A pupil of John. such, according to Irenæus, and was a disciple of the Apostles. In particular he was a pupil of the Apostle John, whom he may have seen first in his native town, wherever that was, on some journey of the Apostle thither, or afterwards in John's city of Ephesus.

Not only was his Christian instruction from Apostles, but by them, says the history, was he ordained as overseer of the church at Smyrna.

John certainly was present, for to him is his installation expressly ascribed. As for the rest, the name "apostles" may be understood in its general sense of "eye-witnesses and servants of the Lord." They were immediate disciples of the Lord, like Aristion or the presbyter John, but not of necessity apostles in the limited sense. For the installation of Polycarp as pastor of Smyrna must, at the earliest, have been just before the death of the last Apostle.

The church of Smyrna was, of those in John's circle, the most noted, next to that of Ephesus. Its beginning is in obscurity. It must be placed after Paul's time, for when the Apostle wrote to the Philippians (about A. D. 62), there was, as Polycarp indicates, no church in the city. Yet it was earlier than the writing of the Apocalypse. It must have been founded by Paul or John about the year 65. Its early state is portrayed in the Revelation. Beset by poverty and distress, it was rich in good deeds and in hope. Upon it had ^{His church.} been heaped revilings by the so-called chosen people. Fresh persecutions and threatenings were in prospect. But the time of trial should be short. Faithfulness in the conflict would insure the crown of life. Thus to the seer the church was spotless, neither her daily walk nor her faith eliciting censure, but praise and admonition only. Some have thought that the "angel" of the Smyrna church to whom this letter was addressed was Polycarp, but as the Apocalypse was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, there can be no reference to him.

Of the earlier part of Polycarp's pastorate no account has come down. A story quite noted in old times, and well authenticated, describes John's rescuing a youth and consigning him to the care and oversight of the bishop of a neighboring town. This, some have thought, was Polycarp. Clement, who tells the story, does not name the town: the addition of Smyrna is later. Its nearness to Ephesus is in its favor. Still Polycarp may not have been the unnamed bishop; more likely it was one of his predecessors.

A fact handed down to us is Polycarp's sending letters to churches far and near to confirm their faith; also to individuals to warn or encourage them. One such early letter of his exists, sent to the church of Philippi, which had called it forth. In it Polycarp quotes the ^{His letter.} words of the Evangelists and of Paul, Peter, and John. He unfolds, too, his individual convictions. Beginning with faith as root and fruit, he joins with it love going before and hope following after. He exalts hope's eternal character. He speaks of the resurrection, the judgment, and heaven. "If we please the Lord in this world," he says, "we shall attain to the world beyond; if we live worthy of Him here, we shall reign with Him hereafter." There runs a grave, earnest tone through the letter. He exhorts to serving the Lord with fear, to the imitation of his patience, and to a correct life before the heathen. He then addresses

individuals in every position, whether in household or in church. Opposing the prevailing error, the denying of Christ's real incarnation, of the judgment and the resurrection, he repeats the doctrine taught them from the beginning. Against the prevailing vice, that of covetousness, he gives his earnest warnings. He bewails the fall of a deacon and his wife (guilty, it seems, of embezzling church money), bids them repent, and exhorts the congregation to receive again the erring ones. A mark of the great antiquity of the letter is found in its dividing the clergy into only presbyters and deacons. A further indication of its date is the mention of Ignatius, of whose patience Polycarp was an eye-witness, and of whose happy arrival at home he was assured. He transmits the letters of Ignatius, and asks further of him and his comrades,—a natural course for him to pursue. This indicates a date soon after the death of Ignatius, which the older reckoning places in 106, the newer in 115.¹

The dim outlines of Polycarp's relations to his church² may be made a more vivid picture by taking into our view persons who were in close relations with him. For out of the obscurity in which so much is lost, some few forms arise with distinctness. Smyrna was a station in the last journey of Ignatius, as he went through Asia Minor to Rome. Polycarp, who was not known to him before, here met him, and was greatly loved and trusted by Ignatius. This is evinced in one of the latter's writings sent from Smyrna. Again, in a writing sent back to this city from Troas, Polycarp is called a blessed man and God-approved bishop. Thanks are given for acquaintance with so guileless a person. Polycarp is also asked to send a messenger to the orphaned congregation in Syria. He should carry from Smyrna sympathy, love, and consolation. The incident honors alike the one imparting his desire, and him to whom it was confided.³

Polycarp's spirit and doctrine are shown in certain disciples of his,⁴

¹ The doubt that attends the letters and journey of Ignatius enters also here. Some have pronounced, if not the entire letter, at least the part relating to Ignatius, spurious. There are suspicions of other passages, whose omission would give the letter greater unity and clearness. There are some exaggerations and interruptions evident. But the letter has the stamp of genuineness, and is supported in the main by the most ancient authorities. The exhortation (chap. v.) to be under subjection to the presbyters and deacons as to God and Christ is to me suspicious, savoring much of Ignatius, but very little of Polycarp.

² An apostle-like spirit finds a most effective weapon in the living word. Polycarp ruled by this in his congregation. He went before them in the right way, with his presbyters, as the first among equals. Church government then did not make any class subject, nor had Polycarp any hierarchical spirit. His efficiency is reflected in the attachment felt to him by his church. He received love and reverence from all its members. They made a beautiful memorial of him in their circular letter respecting his martyrdom. Nor was it only his friends who bore witness to this godly man in his living and dying. The wrath of his enemies, that is, of the enemies of Jesus, involuntarily testified, as we shall see, of his great usefulness to the close of his earthly career.

³ All this has the impress of reality. This letter, less than others of Ignatius, has been subjected to doubts as to genuineness. This testimony and the genuineness of the letters must stand or fall together.

⁴ Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, was, as Irenæus notes, a friend of Polycarp, but when and how is not said. It is likely that their friendship dated from their receiving instruction together from John. The report that Papias suffered martyrdom at the same time with John appears unfounded. The nearness of the friendship of these apostle-like men may be gath-

and not when they agree with him only, but when they differ. Examples of this are found in Florinus and Irenæus, the former a statesman, the latter a celebrated teacher of the West. The two, though unlike in years, were both Polycarp's disciples. Of Florinus the records are few and obscure, yet these outlines make him a notable person. He had an important place in the imperial court. In a residence in West Asia, he sought an interview with Polycarp. It seems to have proven the turning-point of his life. He began to think less of his position in the state than of his call in the church. He is found, after some years (in the reign of Commodus), a presbyter in the church of Rome. There, falling into a heretical way, and leading many after him, he was deprived of his office. His mistake is opposed in a letter by Irenæus, his fellow-pupil, who grieves over his fall.¹ Unlike Florinus, Irenæus remained true to his master. He was born, it seems, near Smyrna, and in early youth came to know Polycarp, who already (about 150) was an old man. Through him he shared the apostolic spirit which was spreading far and wide. He was penetrated by the love of the apostle-like man for living and pure Christianity. Irenæus became afterwards distinguished, over a wide field, for his purity and zeal in doctrine, and also for Christian wisdom and moderation. He carried ever the living remembrance of his teacher, which grew only more vivid as the years went on.

He sketches the picture of the loved man in his letter to His portrait by Irenæus. Florinus, just named, and so renders a beautiful evidence of his profound attachment. "What happened at that time," he says, "I have more deeply fixed in my memory than the events of yesterday. It must be that what occurs in childhood grows with our soul's growth, and becomes a part of ourselves. I could describe the place where the blessed Polycarp sat and spoke, his going out and coming in, his manner of life, his face and form, his exhortations to the people, and what he related of his intercourse with John, or with others who had seen the Lord; how he repeated their words, and what he had heard them tell of the Lord, his miracles and his discourses. For as he had received from men who had seen the Word of Life, so he taught, in strict agreement with the Holy Scripture. Through God's mercy to me, I heard this eagerly, and noted it down, not on paper, but in my heart; and whenever I will, I am enabled, by God's grace, to recall it to mind in all clearness and purity."

ered from their closely related conditions of mind. They valued, in religion, the living truth above the dead letter. They held to the precious work and real life which was shown in the gospel, and which one day should again be made manifest.

¹ Irenæus dwells on the truth that since God is one, He cannot be the author of evil. Florinus, it seems, held the opposite, perhaps maintaining absolute predetermination, when opposing Gnostic dualism. Irenæus shows him the blasphemy of this doctrine, and reminds him of the apostolic teaching given him by Polycarp, striving to move him by remembrance of their common instructor. He succeeded so far as to induce Florinus to forsake his false belief. But as the latter had gone to one extreme in the enigma of the universe, so now he became an adherent of Valentinius, who held to dualism. Thereupon Irenæus wrote his work on the "Eight Eons" of Valentinius, and again induced Florinus to recant.

Thus, what Polycarp received he imparted. God's true servant tills as his field not the single congregation, but the world at large. Polycarp toiled for his flock; he labored, too, for the entire church, both directly and indirectly, near and far away.¹ He went to Rome, and there strove in person against errors. This conflict, so consistent with his life, points to schism then in the church. Already many errors, arising from ignorance or perversion of the truth, had been opposed by the Apostles. Though confined to few, these were the beginnings of more serious errors. Polycarp saw heresies that had smouldered beneath the ashes burst out into open flame. Such offenses, which must needs come, are heavy trials for those upon whom they come first.² So far as we know, the only Gnostic with whom Polycarp had been personally in contact was Marcion. Their intercourse had been friendly. Marcion was a man of strict moral principles, and full of love to God in Christ, which made a bond between them. Afterwards their paths diverged. Marcion had been excluded from church fellowship by his father, the bishop of Sinope. Coming to Rome, and remaining excommunicated, he could no longer be recognized by Polycarp. He had left the common faith, joining the school of Cerdon, a Gnostic. Not only did he, in contempt of the church-tradition, reject the Old Testament and most of the New, espe-

¹ Gaul received of the seed sown broadcast by Polycarp. Lyons was connected with Asia Minor by many business interests, and as trade came thither by the sea, so did the gospel. Many from Polycarp's field found their way there. Among them was Irenæus, who from the year 177 was bishop of Lyons, filling his place in the spirit of his master.

² In that day, when the old religions of Judaism and paganism were alongside Christianity, and when Christian doctrine was not yet developed, a chief danger was the mixing of the three. Especially was it threatened by pagan speculation, raising a hydra-head of enticing doctrines. The church needed to resist pagan intrusions the more, because in the midst of pagans she was beset on every hand by pagan manners, morals, and governmental influences. There were two ways of resistance possible: either mere negation, and rejection of what was anti-Christian, or such opposing of the same as should win the other side by showing that whatever of truth they held was in the Christian religion also. Both ways had been indicated by the Apostles, especially by Paul. They are extensively used against the Gnosticism of the second century, by the great fathers of the church. Polycarp could invoke the example of his teacher, the Apostle John, whichever kind of defense he desired to use. John had said, "If there come any unto you and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God-speed. For he that biddeth him God-speed is partaker of his evil deeds." He had enforced his word by his deed. Once, it is said, when John met Cerinthus at Ephesus, in the baths, he hastily left the place without having taken his bath, saying, "Let us flee, lest the baths fall down, for Cerinthus is within, the foe of the truth!" This we have direct from the lips of Polycarp. It was heard by many, and by Irenæus, who tells it, among the rest. Polycarp acted in the same way, as we know from Irenæus as an eye-witness. Irenæus tells Florinus, once the disciple of Polycarp, but then in deadly error, that if Polycarp had heard such doctrine as his, he would have cried out, stopping his ears, and said, after his fashion, "Good God, to what times hast Thou preserved me, that I must endure this!" He would have fled the spot where he was sitting or standing, on hearing such an utterance. Polycarp, with such habit, must have had many an occasion to be so tried. Such discourse was frequent enough, especially in his later years, when Irenæus knew him. The tree of Gnostic wisdom was in full blossom in the middle of the second century. Without direct evidence, it is easy to believe that the false doctrines that had arisen in Antioch and Alexandria, those great centres of commercial life, were known in Polycarp's district, and were become rooted there. A witness of how greatly Asia Minor was affected by these influences is found in Melito, bishop of Sardis, a noted church father, younger than Polycarp, while a contemporary and near neighbor. Of his numerous writings, a great part is against the Gnostics. He opposes Marcion, defending against him, in one letter in particular, the real incarnation of our Lord.

cially John's writings, but he built up a system opposing the God of the Old Testament to the God of the gospel. He declared Christ's incarnation a mere appearance, and denied his suffering and dying. Polycarp by all this was filled with horror. This is evidenced by an incident that probably occurred at Rome. Polycarp was met by Marcion, who asked, "Do you recognize me?" an address ^{Course with heretics.} which pointed to a former relation, showing also a doubt respecting its continuance. Polycarp replied, "Yes, I recognize the first-born of Satan!" No new expression was this, for Polycarp had written in his letter (already named), "Whosoever does not accept the testimony of the cross is of the devil; whoever perverts the Lord's words after his own lusts, and says there is neither resurrection nor judgment, is the first-born of Satan." The description fits Marcion. Polycarp only copied the example of John (1 John iv. 3), of Paul, and of Jesus (Acts xiii. 10; John viii. 44). In his somewhat harsh utterance, he showed how he valued church fellowship. Christians in that day of first love deeply prized their communion, and thus guarded the doctrine of the Apostles, and won back the erring. Polycarp, if he rejected a heretic "after the first and second admonition," was not remiss as to admonition. He succeeded thus in winning many back. While he was in Rome, he led back into the church, says an express record, many heretics, Valentinians and Marcionites. He probably did not attempt to refute their systems, a task foreign to his taste. Like the old man who had freed Justin from Platonism, Polycarp pointed from the unreal to the real. He told, in simple words, of the one faith, the one communion of the church in love.

The influence of Polycarp thus extended beyond his own district. His visit to Rome, just named, assisted this. Polycarp went there in 158, when Anicet was the bishop. He was urged, certainly, by weighty reasons to undertake so long a pilgrimage, when far advanced in age. He would perhaps discuss with the most conspicuous of western bishops his church's situation. He would especially come to an understanding on points of difference. One question lay near their hearts, that of Easter, then for the first time debated.

This church festival has a long story. Occasioning earnest disputes and even schisms in those early days, it agitated men's minds for centuries. Recently it has been treated anew in able volumes. It not only touches the question of church worship, but has a bearing on important passages in the New Testament history. It can only be named here in its connection with Polycarp. He observed Easter on the 14th of the Jewish month Nisan. Anicet of Rome differed ^{Debate at Rome with Anicet.} from him respecting the time and also the manner of observance.¹

¹ The rule prevailing in Asia Minor maintained, first, that the 14th of Nisan (the full moon of the spring month, and the day upon which, according to the Gospel of John, Christ was crucified) commemorated Christ's death; also, that Easter was not necessarily

The two were thus opposed. Each wished to win the other to his usage. But Anicet could not prevail on Polycarp to give up the celebration which he had kept in company with John and the other Apostles with whom he had lived; neither could Polycarp persuade Anicet to adopt a day contrary to the usage of his predecessors. Each appealed to the precedent of his church, not urging, it seems, any other argument (not certainly taking into the question the relation of the Asiatic reckoning to the chronology of the gospel history). But, though differing, they remained in harmony; sealing their oneness in the Lord's Supper. Especial honor was shown by Anicet to his guest in leaving to him the administration of the ordinance. Thus the stay of Polycarp in Rome was of consequence, both by his resisting heresy, and by this rare example, set by him, of a peaceful settlement of a church dispute. His journey is of interest to the church universal. Before this, lively intercourse and warm sympathy had existed among the Christian churches in different parts of the world. Here, however, is the first example of a discussion of a church question between East and West, in the person of two bishops, representing opposite customs and opinions. Here first is a communing of the whole church. It is voluntary on either side, indicating that the men held their positions in entire independence one of the other.

Polycarp was a representative of the church universal. He bore her Habits in prayer. ever prayerfully upon his heart. Withdrawing, after this, from the persecution threatening, he spent night and day in praying for all Christians and all churches on the earth, "as was his wont." After his arrest, which we now approach, he begged an hour for prayer, which became two hours. He included in his petition all with whom he had come in contact, and the church everywhere through the earth. This is witnessed by his church in the circular letter concerning his death.

The crown of the life of Polycarp was its close. The glory encircling him illumines all the dark background. The actors are the representatives of great parties and ages in fearful conflict. The catastrophe, therefore, is world-wide in its significance. We see, first, the heathen raging. Smyrna becomes the scene of a fearful persecution. The Christians are the victims of tortures never before heard of. The steadfastness of a youth named Germanicus so excites the mob that they started the shout, "Away with the atheists!" "Let Polycarp, too, be taken!" The treachery of a slave who was put under torture disclosed the retreat of

Friday but any day of the week on which the 14th fell; consequently, the anniversary of his resurrection, reckoning it the third day, the 16th of Nisan, might fall on any of the days of the week. The other churches put aside the Jewish reckoning of months, and made the anniversary of the resurrection come on the same day of the week, Sunday, on which it was celebrated each week by Christendom. There were differences also as to the manner of celebrating. One made the death, the other the resurrection, prominent. One, making the observance of the 14th, on which the Jews ate the paschal lamb, have reference to Christ, the true paschal lamb, and to the Lord's Supper, ended their fast on that day; while the other, who kept the Sunday, fasted until that day.

the latter. He had kept calm after the news of the outcry against him, and had refused to leave the city. Finally he had yielded to the entreaties of many Christians, and retired to a barn not far away. There, in prayer, he had seen in a vision his pillow on fire, and had uttered the prediction that he would be burned alive. He had put a greater distance between himself and his pursuers. Found at last, he tried to fly no more, saying, "God's will be done." The officers were astonished at the firmness of the aged person who addressed them; some repented, upon hearing his prayers, of having hunted down such a God-like old man.

He was brought into the city next day, and led to the race-course. When he had spurned every threat and enticing argument used to secure his apostasy, the proconsul caused it to be thrice pro-^{valiant martyr-}claimed, "Polycarp has confessed himself a Christian." ^{dom.}

Immediately the multitude of angry heathen shouted, "He is the teacher of godlessness, the destroyer of our gods, teaching everywhere neither to pray to them nor to sacrifice!" They demanded that he should be thrown to the wild beasts, or, if this could not be, that he should be burned alive. They began preparing the funeral pile. The people carried to the spot wood and kindlings from the shops and public baths. The Jews joined the cry, proving among the foremost in the enterprise, according to their custom, adds the church record. Nor would they even promise the Christians the martyr's body.

It was made a point by pagan magistrates to compel Christians to apostatize. They held those who refused to be guilty of treason. The irenarch who conveyed Polycarp to the race-course in his carriage, failing to persuade him, heaped revilings on him, putting him out of the chariot. The proconsul, wishing, it would seem, to save him, made further attempts. But he feared the people and at last yielded to their importunity. Polycarp all the while maintained such quiet composure and joyful confidence as impressed even his persecutors. In the race-course the proconsul exhorted him to abjure and to cry, "Perish the godless!" meaning the Christians. Polycarp with grave mien, looking upon the mass of pagans, sighing, and looking upwards, said, "Perish the godless!" The proconsul then urged him to blaspheme Christ, and he would set him free. Polycarp uttered the memorable saying, "Eighty and six years have I served Him, and He has done me no evil; how can I blaspheme my King, my Redeemer!" The proconsul threatened him with the wild beasts; when that was of no avail, with the fire. Polycarp replied, "You threaten me with fire, which burns for an hour, and dies out. Thou knowest not the fire of the judgment to come, and the everlasting torment reserved for the wicked. But why do you hesitate? Inflict what you will." At the stake he prayed once more, thanking God that He deemed him worthy of this day and this hour, to drink of Christ's cup and to be numbered among the witnesses of the resurrection

of the soul and body to everlasting life. Into their company he would be welcomed, this day, an offering well-pleasing to the Lord. When the fire was kindled, it flamed around him, without touching his body. The executioner had to pierce him through with his sword. Thereupon so much blood flowed that it put the fire out. With this death the persecution for that time came to an end.

Through the whole dreadful but sublime spectacle the Christians looked on unterrified, though in danger of their lives. To these eye-witnesses the account that was drawn up by the Smyrna church makes its appeal. The letter reverently names Polycarp an apostolic and prophetic teacher, a marvelous witness of the truth. This epistle was sent to a church in Phrygia, and through it to distant brethren, that they might praise the Lord, who from among his servants had chosen such a witness. In commemorating this martyrdom there have been different opinions as to its date, owing to doubtful manuscripts. The Alexandrian chronicle names March 26, 163; the Greeks fix upon February 23d; the Latins, January 26th. The year 169 has had advocates, and lately the year 167. The time was near that when, as has been seen, Justin also received the martyr's crown.—F. P.

LIFE V. ORIGEN.

A. D. 185—A. D. 251. IN THE EAST, — EGYPT.

WHO shall enter the ranks of the saintly, the chosen in the church of God? He who is imbued with the love of Christ; he whose heart is pure, his zeal untiring, his talents consecrated, his renunciation of self and the world complete; he who proves by deed that he counts not life dear to himself, who works and wars for God's kingdom, who spends himself in the service of truth and love; he who has the testimony of the noblest and loftiest church teachers, such as have learned him well, and have shared in his treasures. This man, with right, shall enter.

Such an one is Origen, the greatest of the church teachers of the third century. His equal in comprehensive learning, depth of judgment, and keenness of intellect has scarcely existed before or after him. At the same time, he is noted for a fervid temperament, an exalted enthusiasm, deep piety, and a blameless life from his youth up. With all his noble gifts and his far-spread fame of wisdom and piety, he is crowned with the most beautiful grace of a genuine humility. Origen was born, in all probability, in Alexandria, the town where East and West blended, in peculiar fashion, their sciences and their religions; where, also, the truth of the Bible made its notable alliance with Greek philosophy, by which the form of Christian theology was so much influenced. The year 185 A. D. may be accepted as the

Time of birth;
training.

time. His parents were Christians. From his very childhood the Word of God was his portion. His father, Leonidas, a pious and highly educated man, himself undertook the training of this his first-born son, whose great endowments were early perceived by him. He imparted to him the rudiments of general knowledge, and the elements of Greek learning. At the same time he laid the foundation of his religious training, by reading with him daily the Scriptures, and causing him to learn and repeat entire portions by heart. As a boy Origen showed an inquiring spirit, a living desire for thorough understanding of the Bible. He would not be content with the simple surface meaning. He often embarrassed his father with his questions about the meaning and object of what he read or recited. At times his father rebuked such questioning, and bade him keep to the simple reading of the text; but in his heart he rejoiced greatly, thanking God for permitting him to be the father of such a son. Often, it is told, would he uncover the breast of his sleeping boy, and reverently kiss it, as the sanctuary of the Holy Ghost. To his father's instruction and guidance were added the efforts of pious and intelligent masters, — first of Pantænus, whose influence Origen found most wholesome; then of Clement, on whose catechetical classes he must have attended when quite a youth.

To this period of careful training and undisturbed progress in religion and culture succeeded times of heavy trial. Then he proved that what he had learned he cherished as his life, as his highest good, for which he was ready to give up everything beside. The Christian community of Alexandria felt, above others, the fearful rage of the persecution by Septimius Severus. A multitude of Christians suffered martyrdom. Origen, then but seventeen, was filled with an exceeding longing for such a fate. He was with difficulty restrained by his ^{boyish martyr-}spirit. mother from making himself a sacrifice. After his father had been thrown into prison, he was the more possessed by this desire. He was kept back only by his mother's hiding his clothes. As he could not go to his father, he addressed him a written exhortation, of which these words have been preserved: "Take care not to change, for our sake, thy mind." Leonidas died the death of a martyr. All his property having been confiscated, he left his wife and his seven children poor and helpless. A Christian matron took pity on these forsaken ones. Distinguished for other deeds, this woman had also taken into her home and adopted as her son Paul of Antioch, a noted leader of heretics in Alexandria. To hear this man, thus esteemed by her, there came a crowd, not only of his own partisans, but of believing Christians. Origen, however, could not be induced even to take part with him in prayers. By exceeding diligence, the youth was soon so far along in grammatic studies that he could give lessons, and so earn his own living. His spiritual talent was also turned to account by this zealous young Christian. There came to him

pagans to be taught the Scriptures, especially Plutarch, who, after leading a godly life, obtained the crown of martyrdom, and his brother Herakles, a stern ascetic, who was afterwards bishop of Alexandria. New opportunity was given Origen, by a persecution under the prefect Aquila, to prove the strength of his faith. With admirable fearlessness he ranged himself on the side of the persecuted brethren, and of those doomed to die. Whether personally known to him or not, he openly acknowledged them, visited them in prison, was near them when they were tried, accompanied them to the place of execution, exhorted them there, and with a brother's kiss bade them farewell. The pagan mob grew enraged at him and greeted him with stones, but he continued unhurt, a divine arm wonderfully protecting him. His zeal and courage in proclaiming Christ caused many plots against him. A conspiracy was made by the pagans, and his house surrounded by soldiers. He stole out, obedient in this also to his Lord's command (Matt. x. 23). In this way he had to flee from house to house. He could nowhere remain hid, for learners crowded round a teacher who thus fulfilled his words in his actions. By the success of his teaching he attracted the attention of Demetrius, his bishop. The youth of eighteen was appointed by him a catechist. The catechetical school was at that time closed through Clement's departure at the outbreak of the persecution. Origen, that he might devote himself wholly to this work, gave up his grammar school, and with it his means of subsistence. The care of his family was undertaken by the church. For his own support he provided by the sale of a fine collection of copies of old works for a daily income of four oboli [about ten cents]. His way of life was such as to deaden within him all fleshly lusts. After a day of hard work and fasting, he scarcely allowed himself sleep at night, but devoted most of its hours to the study of the Scriptures. He denied himself every comfort to fulfill literally Christ's precepts. He slept on the bare ground, discarded shoes, and owned but one coat. He refrained from the use of wine and meat. He learned to endure cold and nakedness. He carried his self-denial to an extreme. Rich friends who, from gratitude for what he had done for them, would have gladly shared with him, he grieved by positively refusing every gift. This example of strict temperance was copied by many of his pupils. In this manner he lived for years wholly devoted to his work; and multitudes, both men and women, were through him led to the truth, some of them testifying it even to death. His classes constantly increasing, in order to obtain leisure for the contemplation of divine truth, and for the study and exposition of the Scriptures, he entrusted the beginners to his friend Herakles, a man of culture and Christian zeal, while he devoted himself to the more advanced. He counted two acquirements still necessary to perfectly equip him for his calling. Inasmuch as he had many learned men, heathen and

Early trophies.

Teaches theology.

heretics, seeking through him an introduction to the higher walks of Christian science, he felt bound to study thoroughly that Grecian philosophy in which more or less their errors and heresies were rooted. Hence he not only read the works of the philosophers, old and new, but attended the lectures of the most noted philosopher of the time, Ammonius Sakkas, who put together in a lively fashion all the achievements of that and of former ages in the way of philosophy. Origen found here much that was congenial, but in principles of great moment had to place himself in direct opposition. He was now better able, however, to meet the demands upon him. He could conduct his pupils through the various systems of philosophy, teach them to distinguish the true and the false in them, and at last to recognize in the doctrine of revelation that whole and perfect truth of which the others had caught only single rays. This was his first achievement. Out of it came his first great book, his volume on the foundation doctrines of our faith. In this he sought, on the basis of the unanimous teaching of the church, to build a complete system of Christian doctrine. By proving the apostolic doctrine so far as necessary, by defining it, clearing up this or that point, or by presenting its inner coherence, he made that doctrine avail to the conviction of the thoughtful and inquiring. He aimed to show that Christianity solved the problems of life on which philosophies and heresies had spent themselves to no purpose. The work closes with a chapter on the Holy Scriptures and their deeper meanings.

The chief task that Origen set himself in life, and on which he toiled unwearied to the close, was truly and thoroughly to understand the Holy Scriptures, and to assist others to understand them. He, who when a boy thoughtfully searched into their secrets, was engaged all his life in finding their profounder meaning. The heathen longed to find in their legends of gods and heroes a hidden sense. How much more should they who know the true God feel justified in seeking, from the divinely inspired book of his revealed will, something beyond what the reading of the literal text may offer. Already the Alexandrian Jews had done the like with the Old Testament. Among Christian teachers Clement had followed in their footsteps. Origen, however, went further, both in the laying down of principles and rules, and in their application. As man consists of body, soul, and spirit, so Holy Scripture has a Scripture expositions. threefold sense, literal, moral, and spiritual. That lying on the surface answers to the body. The second corresponds to the soul. This includes, in histories and the like, general moral laws, precepts, and warnings. It is a moral mirror of the race. Beyond lies the third sense, corresponding to the spirit, according to which the Bible histories and the like indicate supernatural events and relationships, conditions and events of the spirit world. The beings there, far above earth, and older than its creation, are in closest relations with our race. Their un-

restrained activity and free will alone make intelligible the otherwise inexplicable diversities of this earthly life. This secret of the deeper sense can be unfolded only by the Spirit who has given the sacred Scriptures. Its perception is the result of superior enlightenment, proceeding from following Christ in the denying and renouncing of self. Thought and conduct, teaching and life, depend, with Origen, one upon another. His study of Scripture extends over all portions of sacred thought. In practical expositions or homilies for the congregation, comprehending almost every book of the Bible, he unfolds its moral worth and applies it to every-day life. Again he applies himself to unlock the deepest secrets of Holy Writ. All the while he was toiling after that upon which everything depended, the finding and fixing of the literal meaning. The better to succeed in this he learned Hebrew, the language of the Old Testament, when he had reached man's estate. Throughout many years he toiled on a work which was to establish a correct Greek text of the Old Testament for permanent use in the churches, by the comparison of the original text and the different Greek translations (called Hexapla and Tetrapla). He found a faithful assistant in his friend Ambrosius. This man had been attracted to Origen's lectures by his learning and ability, and been cured by him of heresy. From that moment his only thought was to make Origen's great gifts more effective for blessing the world. He removed his religious scruples in regard to publishing his Scripture expositions and his system of doctrine. He aided Origen with his handsome fortune, employing seven short-hand writers for him to dictate to by turns, and expert young girls to copy his productions. Origen thus continued for many years without hindrance actively engaged in teaching orally and by his pen. Meanwhile he made a journey to Rome to acquaint himself further with that very ancient community. Later he visited Arabia, upon the invitation of the Roman governor there to a conference, and won great and lasting esteem. In the year 216 A. D., when Origen was thirty-one, Caracalla, the emperor, instituted a fearful massacre in Alexandria, designing it especially against the learned. Origen betook himself to friends of his in Palestine, to Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, his fellow-pupil under Clement, and Theocritus, bishop of Cesarea, who held him in highest honor. Both insisted upon his giving lectures in their congregations. In that country a layman was allowed such privilege. In Alexandria it had been a thing unheard of for a layman to lecture in presence of bishops. The Palestine bishops were severely reproached by Demetrius of Alexandria. Origen was sharply summoned home, first by letters from the bishop, then through the deacons. He obeyed, and resumed his former occupations, with but a short interruption caused by a journey to Antioch. He was summoned thither by the emperor, Alexander Severus, who favored the Christians. He there bore witness to the faith before

Escape to Palestine.

the pious mother of the emperor, Julia Mammæa, who had desired to hear the celebrated teacher of Christianity.

Origen was next called to Greece, by a matter of pressing moment, the unsettling of the churches there, through heresies. Furnished with letters of introduction by his bishop, he traveled by way of Palestine. Here his two bishop friends, in conjunction with other neighboring bishops, consecrated him as presbyter, in the city of Cesarea. The event was to him the beginning of sorrows. He became involved in disputes at Athens. A great uproar was raised. False reports of what took place were circulated. Returning home, he found a changed atmosphere. He felt that a storm was brewing, and retired from the scene. In a synod composed of Egyptian bishops and a portion of the Alexandrian presbyters, he was declared, on the motion of Demetrius, to be unworthy of the teacher's office, and excluded from the church of Alexandria. In a second assembly, composed only of bishops, he was deprived of his office as presbyter. The motive to this act, whether jealousy of the high distinction won by his lectures, or doubt as to his orthodoxy, or merely the belief that he had transgressed church rules, cannot be determined. A circular letter was sent by the synod into all parts of Christendom, making known the decision. The churches in Palestine and Phenicia, Arabia and Achaia, alone would not acquiesce in it. Origen felt this wound deeply, but submitted to the painful trial with Christian spirit. He believed it his duty to pity and pray for his enemies, and not to hate them. He sought to prove, especially to his friends in Alexandria, his orthodox belief. He thenceforth made his home in Palestine, the primitive abode of Christianity. He found in that central point of the known world a centre of operations. Thence the learning of Alexandria was scattered far and wide. The church of Cesarea, founded by Peter, and next in age to that of Jerusalem, was then at the head of the church in Palestine and vied with Alexandria in her culture. After reposing a while in Jerusalem, Origen gave himself to his work of preparing Scripture expositions for Christendom, and to public lecturing in the church, where he had bishops for his pupils. He took nothing from other sages, but presented the Christian system as the perfect science. His school of theology greatly prospered. There gathered to him here many eager pupils, even from far countries, among the rest ^{His school in} ~~Cesarea.~~ the afterwards famous Gregory, called also Thaumaturgus (wonder-worker), a Cappadocian, who, as bishop of New Cesarea, finished a career full of blessed activities. He had come to Cesarea with very different intentions, but was so impressed by the powerful speech and whole character of Origen, the repose and enthusiasm, the power and purity of his life, that he gave up every former plan, and, with his brother Athenodorus, remained near Origen. After five years of intercourse he was called to go away. In a farewell speech he portrayed the great teacher's influence over him, in glowing language.

Origen's time of quiet work and productiveness ended when Maximin, the murderer of Alexander Severus, turned his wrath against the Christians, whom his victim had favored, and especially against their leaders and instructors. Origen escaped, going first to his friend and well-wisher, bishop Firmilianus, in Cappadocian Cesarea. He could be safe, even here, only by remaining strictly concealed in the house of a Christian lady, one Juliana. He there obtained excellent opportunities for his learned studies. He interested himself also in the sufferings and perils of his friends. He addressed a letter to his comrade, Ambrosius, also to the presbyter Protoktetus, in Cesarea, both of them in prison with reason to apprehend the very worst. With the deepest sympathy, he sets before them the strong supports of God's Word. He mounts to exalted contemplations, to lead them to estimate slightly the earthly and to surrender life joyfully. He praises the preciousness of a steadfast confession, and the blessedness of a martyr death, not only to the sufferer, but to all who will be affected by it. He had some time before this, at the earnest desire of Ambrosius, composed an article on prayer, in which he had joined the profoundest reflections upon the character of the exercise with the heartiest exhortations. He had set forth with care everything, internal or external, pertaining to prayer, and had given an excellent exposition of the Lord's Prayer. Through all of it were displayed the marked characteristics of Origen, his contemplativeness and his practicalness, one in living harmony with the other.

When, at Maximin's death, the persecution ceased, Origen returned to Cesarea, and continued writing his commentaries on the *Life in Athens.* Scriptures, as before. In a long sojourn which he made in Athens, he continued this work. He began there his exposition of the Song of Songs, in which, according to Jerome's opinion, he surpassed himself. Origen finds in this dialogue between Christ and his Bride the picture of true love in all its degrees, up to immediate intercourse with God. He finished this work after he had returned to Cesarea. Repeated invitations came to him to go to Arabia; there his loving insight won again many erring ones, and restored peace to the church. In this quiet period Origen finished his chief commentaries on the Scriptures. He also undertook, at the suggestion of Ambrose, a work which may be regarded as the second-best production of his that has come down to us, his pamphlet against Celsus, a defense of the Christian faith suited to the needs of the times. He rebuts in this the keen but frivolous attacks of that Platonizing philosopher (who was then recently deceased). It is Origen's most mature and solid production. In it he displays a wealth of learning, and with marked penetration sets forth the truth and divinity of Christianity in its brightest light.

He was not to end his life in quiet. The emperor Philip the Arabian, who had favored the Christians, and who, with his empress, had

been addressed by Origen in letters, was now dethroned by Decius, a zealous worshiper of the heathen gods. This man, resolving to annihilate the "state-endangering" religion of the Christians, decreed a persecution unparalleled in its simultaneous outburst in all portions of the empire, and in its systematic cruelty. Every exertion was made to bring the people back to the ancient worship. Admonitions, threats, ill-treatment, extremest tortures,—these were the successive means that were employed; they made many Christians give way. Origen had foreseen that the pagan belief in the increase of Christians as the source of the numerous revolts in the Roman Empire would bring on this conflict. When the shock came, he met it with the courage of a believer. He passed through terrible tortures and kept his steadfastness un-^{Tortures and}broken. ^{death.} Though death was not directly induced by these sufferings, it was undoubtedly hastened. Sustained himself in days of trial, and quickened by divine strength, he addressed to others, in need of help, many consoling letters in the closing days of his life. This pilgrim to God then finished his course when near seventy years of age (A. D. 254), at Tyre, where long afterwards his grave was shown. Christ was his life. To sing the praises of Christ, and to acknowledge Him in every revelation of Himself while on earth till the hour of his exaltation, to imprint Christ's likeness of love and wisdom upon himself, and to help others to like confession of Christ, to holy living and to happy dying, this was the effort of Origen, never ceasing and richly successful. To him to die was also gain. While he continues, in spite of the slander heaped on him by malice and ignorance, a bright-shining light in the church on earth, he is also verifying the word of the Lord, "Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father."—C. F. K.

LIFE VI. CLEMENT OF ROME.

A. D. 30 ?—A. D. 101. IN THE WEST,—ITALY.

PROVIDENCE, in differing ways, has guarded the memories of the holy men and women who have deserved well (humanly speaking) of the Christian church. Of some, it has preserved the outer life, the story of their deeds and sufferings; of others, the writings. The latter is the case with the man we now contemplate. He stands in the rank of "Apostolic Fathers," or men next the Apostles' times, whose writings are, in age, nearest to the New Testament canon. His outer life is little known to us, but in his writings, especially the one affirmed positively to be his, his Christian mind leaves us its testimony. This we dare call an "Act" as much as any other deed of faith and love ever done to benefit the church.

Clement of Rome (Clemens Romanus), always thus designated to distinguish him from Clement of Alexandria (Clemens Alexandrinus), who lived a century later, is by many thought to be the same Clement whom Paul (Phil. iv. 3) calls his true yoke-fellow, whose name with those of others, his fellow-laborers, is in the Book of Life. A testimony such as this far outweighs the most elaborately written biography of many a celebrated man.

Our Clement we find pastor of Rome at the end of the first century, succeeding Anacletus (Kletus), the successor of Linus. At least so Eusebius tells us (iii. 13). Some say he came immediately after Linus, others, again, after Peter. He died (see Eusebius, iii. 34) in the third year of the emperor Trajan (A. D. 101), after he had for nine years been eminent in preaching the Word of God, and in leading the church. Later Catholic writers have called him a martyr. According to their legends, Trajan banished him to the Chersonesus, then, on account of great public calamities, had him drowned in the sea; but of all this, history knows nothing. Clement, we believe, died a natural death. Yet he may none the less be reckoned one of the church's faithful witnesses, for amid great suffering and persecutions he preserved that frame of mind which beseems a martyr.

This frame of mind is especially evident in the letters which Clement wrote to the church at Corinth. This community was even in Paul's time troubled by dissensions. Now the schism, in wider and more aggravated form, it seems, breaks out anew, setting itself against the authority of the church. Clement, upon hearing of it, addresses the church a letter (about A. D. 99, though some say earlier, even before the destruction of Jerusalem). He exhorts to unity, to humility, to obedience and patience. He dwells on the judgment and the resurrection, of which Nature, with her changes of day and night, seed-time and harvest, is a striking symbol; as is also the Phoenix of Arabia. He employs the visible creation as his first argument to bring their stubborn wills to harmony. He finds in it God's voice to man, entreating him to obey the divine commands. Do not the constellations move after an eternal law, and, day and night, march along the path marked out for them, without disturbing one another? Sun, moon, and starry choirs, all in their course obey the Creator's will, without once transgressing. The fruitful earth at his word produces food in abundance for men and beasts and all created things, without wavering or tarrying. The inaccessible depths of the abyss are by these same laws preserved; the vast gulf of the sea is by the Creator's power kept that it burst not its bounds; for so the Lord saith: "Hitherto shalt thou come, and no further: and here shall thy proud waves be stayed." The ocean, impassable by man, and the worlds beyond obey the same law of God; spring, summer, autumn, and winter succeed one another in joyous turn. The winds,

Incidents of his life.

Letter on unity.

with full freedom, perform their service, in the appointed place and time. The never exhausted fountains, which Providence has made for our health and enjoyment, offer their bosoms unceasingly for the preservation of human life. The smallest animals exist in peace and harmony side by side. All these the great Creator and Lord of all has ordained, that they may be preserved in concord and unity for the good of all, especially for our good, who fly for safety to his mercy, through our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory and honor, forever and ever.

In the same way as to nature's eternal laws, Clement leads his hearers to history. He places before them the example of Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Lot, Moses, Job, David, and others; also of the Christian martyrs, especially of Peter and Paul. But above all he points them to Christ, whom he presents to them as the sublimest example of humility and obedience. "See," he exclaims, "dear people, what an example is given us here. If the Lord so humbles Himself, what shall we do, who through Him have come beneath the gentle yoke of his grace?" As earnestly and unweariedly as Clement exhorts to Christian virtue does he avoid carefully the error that God's favor can be won by man's own righteousness. He plainly says that we who are called to do God's will in Christ cannot justify our own selves, neither by our wisdom nor our understanding, neither by our piety nor the works which we in the zeal of our hearts have done, but by our faith, by which Almighty God has justified every one from eternity. He says: "Jesus Christ is the way wherein we find salvation, the high priest who presents our gifts; He is the intercessor and the helper of our weakness. Through Him let us gaze up to heaven's heights; through Him, as through a glass, behold God's spotless and majestic countenance; through Him are the eyes of our understanding opened; through Him our unreasoning and darkened souls are kindled with his marvelous light; through Him will the Lord grant us a taste of his immortal wisdom, through Him who is the reflector of his glory." These passages are sufficient to give us an idea of the spirit and contents of this letter. It was much cherished in the first ages of Christianity (as current and credible witnesses assure us), for, with the Holy Scriptures, it was read aloud in the Christian assemblies. Besides this first letter, a second epistle of Clement to the Corinthians is mentioned, which has come to us, however, only as a fragment. It is less a letter, however, than a speech or homily, and by many is thought not to be Clement's at all.

There are still other writings ascribed to our Clement. But betraying, as they do, the work of heretical parties by their deviation throughout from pure apostolic Christianity, they are, by all well versed in the matter, pronounced spurious. It is not our task to enter more closely here into these pseudo-Clementine writings. They are to the church historian an attractive source from which he may derive a record of errors

as they opposed, even in the first centuries, the pure preaching of the gospel. In one of these writings [the "Recognitiones"] the history of our apostolic father appears in the form of a romance, whose substance is briefly this: Clement, the son of a Roman of high birth, Faustinianus, after a long and severe struggle with his doubts, was induced, by the preaching of Barnabas in Rome, to travel to Palestine, that he might obtain more exact knowledge of Christianity from the Apostle Peter, whom he had long desired to know. He found the Apostle in Cesarea, and from him received Christian instruction. Then into Peter's mouth are put teachings not at all like apostolic doctrines, but the true and the false, the Christian and the Jewish, mingled in dreadful confusion. From Clement's unexpectedly encountering his father and mother, whom he thought he had lost, the book received its name of "Recognitiones." The so-called Clementines (or Homilies) are written in like spirit. In them the heretical sentiment comes out still more strongly. It was natural, in the progress of the Church of Christ, that the gloomy power of error should try to array itself in the radiance of apostolic authority, the more surely to mislead men's minds. It becomes hence the earnest duty of theological research to sift the true from the false, and to remove from the revered forms of the old time the webs which either willful lying or dreaming imagination has woven round them. This has, especially in recent days, been done by the scholarly investigation of these pseudo-Clementine epistles. The more the cloud of error is dispelled, the purer the light of the genuine Clementine letter beams upon us; a mild star in the heaven of the early church, which, though exceeded by the stronger, purer light of apostolic Word, yet received its radiance from the same sun as they. — K. R. H.

LIFE VII. IRENÆUS.

A. D. 135 ? — A. D. 202. IN THE WEST, — GAUL.

AMONG those early Christians whom we may truly regard as spiritual fathers of our church, Irenæus takes a prominent place. He is especially notable as one in whom evangelical sentiment came into conflict with a rising Catholicism. Distinguished as he is, and honored as he was in the church of old, he is but dimly known to us in his outer life. A few points have come down. His home in youth, and no doubt his native place, was in Asia Minor. He was of Greek origin, as his name shows. A short but precious fragment, preserved by Eusebius, places Irenæus, at least in his early years, in direct connection with the aged Apostle John. Confirmation of this is added by a John-like clearness, depth, and fervor which meet us in his writings, treating, as they do for the most part, of

practical Christianity. Till latest old age Irenæus recalled, with loving fidelity, those days when he, a boy full of glowing faith, as in after years, sat at the feet of the venerable pastor Polycarp,¹ of Smyrna, listening to his recital of the miracles and teachings of the Lord. He was also in contact with other immediate disciples of the Apostles. He shared with others, as opportunity offered, the memorable things he heard from them upon the doings of apostolic days.

Later he is a presbyter, we find, in flourishing Lyons; a field enriched with streams of martyr blood, a centre of Christian knowledge and culture for a great part of Western Europe. Lives in Lyons. What led him to those regions, still bound by pagan delusions, whether inner voice or outward call, who can say? But by settling there, he not only imparted Grecian theology to western Christians, but became, by his knowledge and activity, "the Light of the Western Church." He could not but attract attention by his rich mental endowments and the enthusiastic love of the gospel that possessed him. His appointment as presbyter by his bishop may be taken as a proof of this. A stronger evidence is his commission from the Lyons church to Rome. He was entrusted by them with the matter of the Montanist heresy, which threatened their peace. He bore a letter from the Lyons martyrs to bishop Eleutherus of Rome, testifying fervently of his zeal for "Christ's covenant." About this time his aged bishop Pothinus, after a long course of ill-treatment nobly borne, fell under the persecution which scattered the church of Southern Gaul. Irenæus seemed the most worthy to succeed him. The man of peace undertook the burden of the leadership, in difficult surroundings (A. D. 177). Paganism, alarmed at the strides making by Christianity, was arming itself, it seemed, for a fierce war of extermination against the hated innovations. Heresy and schism undermined the unity and stability of the church, deceiving the simple-minded by their seductive persuasions. Disputes rose in the catholic fold on questions of church usage. But Irenæus was not the man to be dismayed by hardships or dangers. When his faith needed support under assaults from without, he found it in the consciousness: "The Christian's business is to learn to die." He was in readiness to pursue heresy to its last tortuous windings, to entangle it in the net of its own devisings, and overcome it by the word of Scripture. In this he was helped by a remarkable proficiency in Scriptures and classical literature, as well as by his keen intellect and practical experience. He was, by his discretion and gentleness, the natural mediator between conflicting opinions. His life had one thought, to extend the church builded upon

¹ The joyous triumph with which that last of the disciples of the Apostles closed his long life, spent in the service of the Master, could not fail to impress Irenæus very deeply. "When I was a child," he writes in a letter to Florinus, which has been lost, "I saw thee with Polycarp in Asia, and remember all that then happened better than what has just occurred," etc. [See p. 17.]

the faith of the Apostles. He gave to the service of the gospel his very best powers. There is doubt whether he carried the torch of truth as a missionary to the barbarous tribes around. In favor of our believing he did, is his testifying with the energy of an eye-witness that "many barbarians bear the word of salvation in their hearts, written without ink or pen, in living characters by the Divine Spirit." What later centuries told of his crowning his noble life with the glory of a martyr's death (A. D. 202) is perhaps an invention. In his work as a Christian writer he will ever live. He is not remembered for beauty or cleverness of style, nor marks of genius or originality, but for deep reverence for God's Word, symmetrical culture, and childlike humility in the things of salvation. Of most of his writings we have left but fragments and titles.

Greatest work.

His chief surviving work aims to show and refute Gnosticism. It is in an ancient Latin translation which, in its exactness, reveals the Greek text of the original. The subject was worthy of all his powers. For no storm of persecution from without, no convulsion of schism from within, so mightily tried every nerve of the church as the false philosophy which called itself Gnosis, from its pretensions to the highest wisdom.¹ What a mind so truthful and pure

¹ Such striving after a deeper insight into spiritual things as Gnostics professed was not, even from the Christian standpoint, altogether interdicted. The gospel is something more than a blind faith. Paul recognizes in Christ a hidden spiritual mystery, and recommends it as the fulfilling of faith (Col. i. 9; ii. 2, etc.). And when he elsewhere warns them, opposing to wisdom the foolishness of the simple preaching of the cross, this is not to condemn the effort after religious knowledge, but that hollow, obscure, mystical wisdom, which, appropriating a certain amount of philosophic profundity or frothy eloquence, loses sight of the chief points in Christianity, love and redemption (1 Cor. i. 17; viii. 1, etc.); or it ensures that admixture of "profane and old wives' fables" which undermined the faith, and split the church into factions (1 Tim. iv. 7; vi. 20). But it is in the very nature of Christianity, wherever she enters as the superior power, both to absorb all the wisdom she finds that is akin to her and, wherever she takes hold of the conscience, to disturb the corruptions of man's nature. The gospel of salvation and freedom took a mighty hold on that age, weak by its spirit of bondage and corruption.

Thus it happened that very early, even in the age of the Apostles, extravagant ideas of all kinds, the growth of the age, crowded to view, like insects to a light. The most obtrusive of these was Gnosticism, with its grievous moral fallacies, having its home in Asia Minor, its parents Judaism as well as Paganism. The brooding over the relations of the spiritual world were common to all, as well as the effort to turn their secrets and powers in every way to profit. In this spirit we find in the Phrygian Colosse some Jewish-Christian errorists uniting to the law of Moses a mystic angel-worship, dedicating themselves thereto with merciless castigations (Col. ii. 8-18, etc.). In Ephesus and Crete, the people were deceived by fables about the emanation of the world of spirits from God, which, along with disputes over the law, produced contention instead of edifying (1 Tim. i. 4; Titus iii. 9, etc.). Elsewhere they misconstrued Christian liberty and the grace of God into lasciviousness (2 Pet. ii. 19; Jude v. 4). In Ephesus, Pergamos, and Thyatira, the Nicolaitanes allured the Christians to partake of things sacrificed to idols, and to commit fornication, even as the heathen prophet Balaam had laid a stumbling-block before the children of Israel (Rev. ii. 6, 14, 20, etc.). Paul foresaw this wasting of God's flock with foreboding grief (Acts xx. 29, etc.). John stigmatizes these seducers as forerunners of Antichrist (1 John ii. 18). Other books of the New Testament are full of like warnings and cries of woe. How far this presumption affected the purity of faith was in part decided by the laxity of morals, part by the Oriental conviction of the essential corruptness of things material. Faithless helpers of the Apostles hence denied the resurrection, declaring they had already attained it spiritually in Christianity (2 Tim. ii. 17, etc.); others scoffed at the second coming of the Lord (2 Pet. iii. 3, etc.). In John's field of labor error assumed the form of denying Christ's having come in the flesh (1 John ii. 22, etc.; iv. 1, etc.).

All these symptoms show that the danger of Christians being led astray was great. Yet the Gnostics of the Apostles' times were but the forerunners of a still more frightful apostasy.

as that of Irenæus thought of the variegated Christianity painted by human fancy, we may know without difficulty. Impiety and presumption,—this was his estimate. Even could he have separated its light from its darkness in the midst of the conflict, he could have seen in Gnosticism only a mischievous tendency. He used every argument of Scripture or reason as a weapon against this Antichrist. In the conflict, he clung fast to maxims which have made him so noted as the leader of later ecclesiastical development.

In contrast with the division of the Gnostics, he exalts the unity of the church's confession. "The languages in the world are unlike, but the tradition given us is one and the same. You will find no diversities in belief or teaching in the churches, whether of Germany, of Spain, of the Celts, in the East, or those in the world's centre. As there is over the earth one and the same sun, so does the preached truth light up all places." Nationality and culture, he thus affirms, made no difference. When the presumption of the Gnostics made even the depths of the Godhead open to their science, and their souls sparks of the Deity, Irenæus pointed to the immeasurable distance between the Creator and the creature. It seemed to him better for man "with less knowledge through love to approach God than with more knowledge to be in danger of blaspheming Him; to know none other than Jesus Christ the Son of God, the crucified, than to fall into anxiety through subtle questions." He counts everything a wholesome and safe object of contemplation that

For what in their day opposed Christianity only in single individuals, creeping about in obscurity, became in the second century an ingeniously developed system, with regularly organized sects. The so-called Gnosticism presented the history of the origin of God and the world in the wildest pictures of a fantastic fiction. The principal question with them was not the practical one of the Apostles, What shall I do to be saved? but the old philosophic one, How did the world come from God; whence the mixture of good and evil in it, and why? They solved these questions by supposing a most perfect but invisible God, whose eternal essence becomes an object of knowledge by its self-embodiment in a succession of divine spirits, named cons, proceeding out from Him. By the mingling of this world of spirits with eternal yet formless matter existing in the abyss, the visible world was originated. One of the lowest of the heavenly spirits, a confined yet haughty being, became the creator of the world (the Demiurg), by impregnating the material with the divine ideas, either indwelling in him, or else derived from the upper world. To the Jews, whom he chose of his own free will, he entrusted the bringing of law and order into civil life. Paganism fell under the dominion of Satanic power. Salvation was wrought out by the highest of the heavenly spirits, apparently taking a human form (the view of Docetism) to announce the unknown God, and in receptive natures reviving that consciousness of God that was lost. The end of all things was to be the return to heaven of the natures allied to God, and the destruction or the restraining of the material with the natures allied to it. A principal point in this belief was, that the Creator of the visible world, the God of the Old Testament, was in being and action very different from the God of Christianity, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Law and grace, nature and gospel, were completely distinct creations. Christianity itself was only a means and starting-point of philosophic ideas. Its essence was not an action by God, but doctrine. The most important events in the life of our Lord, his birth, his suffering and dying, and even his humanity, were mere ideas, intangible visions. Redemption consists perhaps even more in physical than in moral occurrences. The highest aim of Christianity is knowledge. Faith and an earnest life are only a middle point between the perfection of the ravished soul in the contemplation of Deity, and the unreasoning sensualism of the man governed by passion and appetite. Since differences in men arise not from previous circumstances of education so much as from natural dispositions, they form an insurmountable barrier to the power of the gospel. Salvation reaches to but a portion of mankind; while all creation takes part on the other side. In keeping with this view of the world, the pure life which the better Gnostics inculcated in their comrades fast degenerated into the most shameless immorality.

can be perceived by the senses, or found revealed in the Holy Scriptures. Yet even in Scripture are dark places and difficult problems. From them man must not inconsiderately withdraw the veil. The decree is that God shall ever be teaching, man shall always be learning from Him. Complete solutions are reserved to the life eternal. Irenæus replied to the assertion of the Gnostics that their teaching was not less apostolic than that of the Catholic church, having been transmitted to them in secret tradition from the Apostles, and also given in the Holy Scriptures, after a mystical fashion. He simply pointed to the true tradition, and to the interpretation of the Scriptures in the church.

When thus engaged, Irenæus evolved his theory of the importance of tradition, so weighty in its results. "The Apostles' traditions left to the world," he affirms, "may be found by all in the churches they established. Is there dispute, then, even in small matters, let us go to the oldest churches in which the Apostles preached, and receive from them the safest solution of the question in dispute. Had it chanced that there had been no writings transmitted from the Apostles, should we not have had to hold fast to their traditions?" Because tradition was universal and unperverted, and was the essence of apostolic teaching existing independently of the Scriptures in the churches, he made it a chief weapon against the subtlety of the heretics. But in what relation did he place it to Holy Scripture? For Scripture truth is a weapon throughout against falsehood. Irenæus in one place gives this counsel: "To avoid the manifold and changing opinions of heretics, we should be nourished in the church's bosom, on the Scriptures of God, which are perfect, as given by the Holy Spirit."¹

¹ Scripture and tradition, standing alongside one another in their oneness, are, Irenæus holds, foundations and pillars of the faith; they are voices of one mouth. The traditions of apostolic belief are to be found in their purity with those bishops whose line extends without break to the Apostles. This tradition is "the interpreted word living in the recollections of the church." Thus the unity of the faith is confirmed by the agreement of the sources whence the churches derive the faith they confess. "The true Gnosis," Irenæus says, "is the teaching of the Apostles, and the church structure in its ancient forms throughout the world, with the succession of bishops, to whom the Apostles committed the congregations everywhere, in the use of the pure and entire Scriptures interpreted by itself and in the prompting of love, which is far more precious than knowledge, more glorious than prophecy, higher than every other grace."

Of highest importance to him, it thus appears, is the church's unity, as it is the chief warrant of the genuineness of tradition and of Scripture. To the church are confided all the unmixed treasures of truth, received from the Apostles; in her alone is perfect certainty of faith; out of her pale nothing but error and doubtful opinion. She is the light of God. The church moreover communicates the Spirit of God, and the life developed by that Spirit. Fellowship with Christ depends on her. She is the pledge of our immortality, the ladder of our ascent to God, the paradise which God has planted in this world. The church contains the operations of the Holy Spirit. Whoever does not lie secure in her arms, has no part or lot in this divine Spirit. The most fearful judgments threaten those who bring the strange fire of erroneous teaching to God's altar, as well as those who for an insignificant cause, it may be, rend Christ's glorious body. No after amendment can repair the mischief of such divisions. The bishops are the guardians of this unity. They have the succession from the Apostles, and with this the secure treasures of truth. To them, therefore, obedience is due. These passages, no one can doubt, have a round Catholic ring. The Roman church was seemingly right, therefore, when as she developed her hierarchical principles at a later date she made them appear as if transmitted from the times of the Apostles. But she left the most important fact out of sight, the want of agreement of her hierarchy with the church of Irenæus.

From the Roman hierarchy Irenæus is separated by no less space than the breadth of the gospel. He regards the church as the body of the Lord, not in its outer constitution, but only in its exhibition of the complete truth and the perfect life. "Where the church is," he says in a sentence that has grown famous, "there is the Spirit of God, and where the Spirit of God is, there is the church." His expression identifies the real church and the ideal; it points to a church in which the tender bloom of early fervid love was not yet destroyed by worldliness, as in later times. His sentence in its first part suits the Catholic idea of the church; in the second part the evangelical. Irenæus finds the parts inseparable. He cannot imagine a saving work of the Holy Spirit outside the communion of the Catholic church. No more can he conceive a church not thoroughly imbued with the Living Spirit. He says: "Those who have no part or lot in the Holy Spirit cannot feed on the mother-breast (that is, the church) nor partake of that most pure stream flowing from Christ's body." So essential does he make the Spirit's presence in the church's life, that he deems bishops that do not prove their office by living faith and goodly conduct no true bishops at all. The churches ought to sustain only those bishops who "unite with their office the Apostles' sound doctrine and lives without spot. Such bishops let the church support. In them the Apostles' word is realized (1 Cor. xii. 28). The truth is to be sought where the grace of God is bestowed; where we find the apostolic church, the blameless life, and the unperverted doctrine. These sustain our faith in the one God who made all things; they warm our love towards the Son of God, who undertook so great things for our salvation; they unfold to us the Holy Scriptures."

The conduct of Irenæus accorded with these principles. An opportunity to test them was given by the dispute respecting Easter.¹ When Polycarp, pastor of Smyrna, was in Rome (A. D. 160), he was freely invited by Anicet of Rome (see page 19) to administer the Lord's Supper, though there was an abiding difference between them in regard to Easter. This difference continued to be discussed in books and synods in Asia Minor. Suddenly (A. D. 196) an imperious letter was addressed to the

¹ The churches of Asia Minor from old time had taken the evening of the same day when, by the Jewish law, the paschal lamb was slain (on the 14th of the month Nisan), as the time of celebrating the sacrifice and death of Christ, the true paschal lamb (1 Cor. v. 8). The Roman church, on the other hand, regulated the celebration of Easter according as Passion Week fell, solemnizing the anniversary of Christ's resurrection always on a Sunday, and the Friday before as the day of his crucifixion. This difference in celebrating the feast had long escaped notice. An accident made it the subject of public attention about the middle of the second century. The Oriental churches reproached the churches of Asia Minor that in their feast of the Passover, contrary to general custom, they broke the solemn fast of Passion Week, even before the day of the resurrection, and what was worse, they celebrated the day of the resurrection according to the Jewish calendar, making it fall on another day than Sunday. The deeper thought that gave rise to the dispute was that as redemption was for all, so, also, the church feast should by all Christians be celebrated on one and the same day. The desire for union was uppermost in both parties. But the first attempt was a failure, as the churches thought more of respect being paid their traditions than of agreement in keeping a festival. This, however, did not disturb the church's peace.

Christians in Asia Minor by pastor Victor of Rome, declaring that they ought to yield their ancient customs, and come into harmony with the West. The motive of this unheard of step is unknown, whether a blind zeal for uniformity in ceremonies, or a lust of power that would see how far Roman influence extended. The Asiatics returned a refusal, resting on the authority of their great departed fathers, John the Apostle, Philip, Polycarp, and others. At once Victor fulfilled his threat, and broke off church fellowship with them, declaring them heterodox,—the first violent act of the Romish hierarchy, but not her first inclination in this direction! The domineering spirit of Old Rome had been awaked early in her pastors, possibly by the great splendor of the capital of the world; or by the fact that, alone of western churches, theirs was founded by Apostles, and hallowed by the blood of the two chief Apostles; or by the great wealth of its members; or by the energetic spirit which was an ancient Roman characteristic. The incipient feeling was helped by success. The title bishop of bishops rose as early as the beginning of the second century. Universal respect was secured in the West. Irenæus respected Rome. He calls hers of all churches the oldest and greatest. Her decisions in church matters are highly valued by him. In proving the purity of doctrine by the regular succession of bishops in the apostolic churches, he cites her as an example before all others. He ascribes to her an origin above others (or, as some understand him, a precedence). On this account he thinks other churches should agree with her, because she has always kept the Apostles' traditions. That she is the rock on which the Lord promised to build the church, he has not the remotest idea. That rock to him is apostolic truth. With his reverence for her, he is far from acknowledging her rule. He therefore emphatically rebukes bishop Victor (though agreeing with him, substantially, upon the question at issue), for his unfeeling conduct toward the Christians of Asia Minor. He shames him by telling him his own way of working. He reminds him that never before had churches separated over a difference in external usage. He passes his final judgment in these words: "Through variety in usages our oneness in faith shines with only the more brightness." The most faithful adherent of Rome knew thus much, at that time, of any primacy of her bishop! Thus far above fear of man or of man's disapproval was Irenæus. Thus royally he united freedom of mind with a resolute spirit in things essential. By this one expression he wins a place among Protestant confessors and fathers.

Irenæus has no place among those great spirits, worlds in themselves, who by noble apostolic might subdue whole empires, or by creative genius lead religious life into new developments. There is no sign that his name lived in the mouths of the people. He was known to antiquity chiefly as a man of learning. His opinions, advocated by him with power, and

of such influence on the form of the church after him, were not so much his own, as the common property of the age in which he labored. What, above all, made him one of the most eminent and attractive of objects is his faithfulness as a steward of the Divine Mysteries. With the sword of the Spirit in his hand, he watches over the church's gospel treasure, What he receives as apostolic truth he puts into convincing shape, and builds carefully and gently, to his utmost ability, the temple of the Lord. Rightly did antiquity name him an apostle-like person. He was such not alone by living on the border of apostolic times, but by his inheritance of apostolic virtues. Would that his spirit had never forsaken the later church. Would that it were revived mightily among us! — K. S.

LIFE VIII. CYPRIAN OF CARTHAGE.

A. D. 195—A. D. 258. IN THE WEST, — NORTH AFRICA.

THE north coast of Africa, which glimmers once more, in our day, with the light of Christianity, after more than a millennium of heathen darkness, proved, in the early centuries, especially favorable for the spreading of the gospel. As the fields there, under the hot sun, ripen quickly their flowers and fruits, in beautiful variety and overflowing measure, so the church of North Africa, as history shows, compressed within a few centuries a rapid growth of Christian life, and a rich harvest, which has sent its blessings to distant lands and ages. To North Africa must be traced in large part the beginning of the Western church, of her doctrine, and her form of government. The three great North African doctors, Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine, were church fathers in the true sense. What the Lord wrought through them is felt by us this day. The course of their lives had much in common. Alike they were ruled by strong, ardent dispositions; they obeyed their natural inclinations, they served worldly honors and vanities. Alike were they smitten of a sudden by the converting grace of God alike they received baptism in manhood, and cared for nothing afterwards, save to serve the church of Jesus Christ, with all they had and all they were, according to the measure of strength and knowledge that was given them. No one of the three, however, so clearly shows that the new birth makes the life of the Christian a constant following of his Lord, a reflection of Him in deed and in suffering, as does Cyprian.

Thascius Cecilius Cyprian was the son of a pagan of high rank, a senator in Carthage. He chose the established way to attain to high public place in that day. He became a teacher of rhetoric and an advocate. There is a tradition that his love for a Christian maiden, whose reasoning was too strong for him, had somewhat to do in his conversion. Whether

earthly affection was his guide to heavenly things, or some other vision of the Lord met him and said, "Follow me," certain it is that he turned away and declined obeying. It seemed to him absurd and impossible to be born again, to begin a new life while cumbered with this body, to root out affections and habits deeply implanted and grown to be a part of him. But the Lord was pleased to magnify his grace in him. "Behold, I make all things new," and "I am the Lord that healeth thee," were truths experienced by Cyprian, in ripe manhood. His His late con-
version. consecrated will found thenceforward opportunity and call to exert its full strength for God's service. In the year 245, when he must have been some fifty years old, Cyprian was baptized by the presbyter Cecilius at Carthage. In his love to Him who he knew and felt first loved him, he found it easy to make the sacrifice which at first he thought impossible, and to maintain it even until death. He devoted at once his worldly goods to the church, to use for the brethren and for the poor; with a vow of chastity he dedicated his life wholly to the Lord's service. In a royal letter to one Donatus, who had been baptized along with him, he speaks, in moving terms, of his new life, his freedom in Christ, and his perfect satisfaction in his love. He manifests a thorough perception of evangelical doctrine.

The Christians in Carthage were soon aware of the value of this new accession to their church. In the year 247 they made him a presbyter. The very next year, they compelled him by their fervent love and pressing entreaty, not to be resisted by him, to undertake the vacant office of bishop. He knew the importance and responsibility of the place. With the decision and self-reliance which his age required, he administered the office until his death, ten years afterwards. He became in it a pattern of Christian wisdom and active zeal, to all time.

The church in the Roman Empire was then enjoying rest and growth. Nearly thirty years had passed since the days of Alexander Severus, and the Christians had been almost wholly undisturbed. The church of Carthage was grown to twenty thousand Christians of all classes. A church synod, assembled by Cyprian in Carthage, some years later, numbered eighty-seven bishops from the surrounding country of Numidia and Mauritania. But with this outward growth, a human self-confidence had entered the church. Worldliness had intruded in many a guise. The bishops themselves were not exempt from it. Like a purifying flood, therefore, did the persecution under the emperor Decius, in the year 250, pour over the churches, more mighty and lasting than any before or after. Cyprian saw in it a divine chastisement for the thoughtlessness and worldly-mindedness of Christians. The African church endured not only the oppressions of the imperial officials, but the rage of the heathen populace. They joined to accomplish the dispersion of the church, beginning with the destruction of their sacred books, and the

taking away of their bishops. In Carthage the mob rose with the wild cry, "Cyprian must be given to the lions!" Though joyful in face of death, Cyprian felt that his hour was not yet come. He embraced an opportunity to leave the city, and hid himself in a safe retreat, known only to his friends. He did not lack enemies, who, ^{Escape from} ~~death.~~ during his absence and afterwards, aimed to turn his withdrawal to his reproach. Cyprian answered courageously: "It was God's will that I should escape. I did it not for my own safety, but knowing that the storm against the Christians would abate, if a chief cause of it were removed. Absent in body, I was still present with the brethren in spirit." He could say this confidently, for the congregation, during the fourteen months of his absence, felt amid all their distress from without that they had a bishop who cared for them and bore them on his heart in prayer. His letters, in his exile, to his presbyters and deacons, and to his members suffering for the faith, show his fervent sympathy in their distress, and his care in word and deed for the poor, the sick, and the persecuted. They admonish against seeking martyrdom from wrong motives; they strengthen their hearts for endurance amid trials, and praise their faithful confessions. "God wants not our blood, but our faith," he writes, in opposition to a fanatic pressing toward martyrdom and death.

The most violent of his opponents was an ambitious deacon, named Felicissimus, who with his adherents refused to acknowledge Cyprian as bishop, and urged the choosing of another in his stead. This enmity did not produce any great impression upon the church, even during Cyprian's absence. Afterwards this opposing party came to nothing from their own folly.

When, in the year 251, the emperor Gallus followed Decius upon the throne, Cyprian returned to Carthage. He knew that strifes awaited him in the very heart of the community, partly kept up by the antagonists just named, and threatening greater danger than the opposition of the world. He was one of those great minds of the early Christian ages which saw clearly that, amid the ruins of the fast sinking Roman Empire, the church could rise victorious only by not swerving from her sure foundation, the revealed Word of God; only by keeping thus steadfast and united. As the builders of the Temple in Nehemiah's time succeeded by being workmen and warriors, so Cyprian was ready and armed either to build or to defend. When the church is builded by martyr blood, he thanks God for it; but when martyrdom becomes vainglory, and seeks its own honor rather than the building of the walls of Zion strong and sure, then his zeal kindles for the Lord's house. Faint-hearted and apostate Christians, whose name was legion, had, during the Decian persecution, purchased from the magistrates letters of security, or had sacrificed to the image of the emperor. These men, as soon as the storm had blown over, endeavored to return once more to the Christian community, from

which they had voluntarily separated. The intercession, in such cases, of those that had borne testimony to the Lord under tortures or in dungeons, could hardly be resisted. So highly was the merit of steadfast testimony valued by Cyprian, that the baptism of blood was credited by him with power to cleanse from sins, and in his letters those days upon which any of the brethren had suffered death for their faith were recommended to be observed and held sacred every year. At last the martyrs in heaven assembled around their Saviour were even regarded by him as intercessors for the living, and prayers to them as especially efficacious. But when the deserts of those members of his church who had undergone tortures began to be so overestimated that on them was set up the urgent demand, as of right, that every one bearing a recommendation from such a martyr must be received again into the church, without regard to the bishop's judgment, then Cyprian set his face steadfastly in opposition thereto. He would not abate a jot of his right as a bishop, ^{Maintains} or of his demand that sincere penitence be manifested, and ^{church order.} a confession made in public. His severity in this, and in general in church matters, is a peculiarity of his character. It is explained by the insubordination of the times, and agrees with his veneration for Tertullian, and the latter's strict (Montanistic) ideas. Still he did not share the views of some Christians of his time, who held no apostate worthy to be received again. He expressly said that these unhappy ones must not be driven to despair by downright refusal.

Cyprian shows this same solicitude for maintaining the purity of church fellowship in his opposing Stephanus, bishop of Rome, as to the validity ^{Opposes Rome.} of baptisms by heretics. If the church possesses stability through unity, she cannot recognize baptisms by those outside her pale. When Cyprian's opponent cited tradition against him, and in favor of his own more easy procedure, Cyprian protested against Roman traditions as not binding the Christian churches of other countries, and in fact disputed entirely the great value of tradition. "A usage without truth," said he, "is only an antiquated error." He will test the worth of tradition wholly by divine truth. While the Roman practice was worldly-wise, Cyprian was upheld by the most weighty decisions in the councils of his day. Later councils decided for the Roman usage, and it prevails in the church to-day.

Cyprian, in all his efforts, made the unity and the purity of the church his chief aim. This was the foundation thought of his life. Thence he derives his glory and his power. Then, as to-day, the church believed in the need of unity rather than in its possibility. That man is then to be the more esteemed who, taking this as his aim, devotes to its attainment great powers of organizing and administering, and that without wearying.¹

¹ In that age it was important not only to preserve the Christian faith of individuals, in

Cyprian was chosen, more than others of his time, to build up and strengthen the church. This is evidenced in his character and actions, and also in the tendency of his writings. These were numerous, and all of them called into being by the struggles and exigencies of the age. In them he warns, admonishes, comforts, and reconciles. He explains God's Word, and shows the way to put it in practice. He proves himself a most thorough student of the Scriptures. He combats the ridiculous accusations and false notions of the pagans. He shows them the folly of seeking by outward force to quench the Spirit. He quells the fear in his people of those who may kill the body, but have no power to destroy the soul. He was not alone a preacher, controversialist, and ruler. He was also a true bishop, and a bright example to those confided to his care. This he proved himself by his conduct, his Christian love, and his joy in suffering.

When once certain Christians of Numidia were carried captive by some neighboring savages, as soon as Cyprian heard of it, he collected—and he had done the same under like circumstances before

a world full of horrid lusts and of violence, but also to preserve the communion of the saints. The church, undivided and truly catholic, must be a strong tower to all that belong to her, against the hate of heresy, even more than of Judaism and Paganism. Belief in the church's unity was to become the established creed of all Christians by those conflicts in which Cyprian took a heroic part. If Christ is to grow to his full greatness on the earth through the church, then Cyprian's celebrated writings upon church unity, which torn from their connection often give offense, may be accepted as correct conclusions. For example, "No salvation out of the church;" "No one can have God for his father who has not the church for his mother;" "The oneness of the church is like the oneness of the sun: many rays, but one light; like a tree having many branches but one trunk, with its roots firmly fixed in the soil; or as when many brooks flow from one source, let the wealth of waters divide and spread as they will, in their fountain-head they are one and the same. Take the ray from the sun, the oneness of light suffers it not to be separated; break the branch from the tree, it withers; cut off the brook from its source, it dries up. The church of the Lord has the same unity and interdependence all over the world. She is a fruitful mother, who has borne us all, nourished us all by her milk, animated us by the breath of her life."

How these words could be misused, by applying them to the perishable form of a visible church, soon appeared. But that Cyprian did not mean, in any sense, that external Roman Catholic oneness of the church that takes away all liberty is quite certain from his writings, so freely quoted by the Roman church as favoring its organization and authority. Cyprian believed in church unity, without a thought that a visible centre in Rome was at all necessary. He considered a strong supervising power necessary, to take the place of the rule of the Apostles; to prevent confusion in doctrine, discipline, and worship, and to establish the church on a firm foundation. He had experienced once at least resistance to visitation by several of his presbyters. He took his views of the priest's office in part from the Old Testament. He gave little heed to the claims of a universal priesthood of believers. Yet he was so far from cutting off the congregation from a share in the church government, that he especially insisted on the need of their opinions and testimonies, and also their consent in the choice and ordination of bishops and presbyters, and the re-admission of apostates. He it was who changed the prevailing aristocratic constitution of the church into a more equalized government by bishops, presbyters, and deacons. Yet he went about it, it must be said, with an old Roman positiveness and a display of human passion and arbitrary will. If Cyprian had ever held that the Lord had put Peter, in person, above the other Apostles, he might be adduced, as he was after his time, as a supporter of the papal hierarchy and of the Romish doctrine of the primacy of Peter. That he never entertained a thought of it, he shows in his vigorous contest, above named, with the Roman bishop Stephanus, and in numerous passages of his works, which maintain the bishops as a unit, with equal dignities, to be the right church government. They are answerable, he declares, each for the trust committed to him, to their Lord and Saviour. He finds in Christ's words to Peter only the oneness of the church, at its start, but no special prerogative for Peter or his successors.

this — a great sum of money, to be paid for their ransom. His was a hearty sympathy, however far away the sufferers. The Christians had been spared by the emperor Gallus, at the opening of his reign; but when pestilence and famine broke out, it was believed by him that the Roman gods missed many of their offerings and prayers by the falling away of the Christians; accordingly, many constraints and persecutions were inflicted by him upon the latter. This gave occasion for good returns to an angry enemy. In Carthage the pestilence carried many away; horror and despair seized on all; many fled, and left the sick ones to their fate. Dead bodies lay unburied in the streets. Cyprian, Courage in pestilence. in this extremity, assembled the Christian congregation, and exhorted them in Christ's name to visit even the heathen with acts of mercy and brotherly love, and return thus good for evil. He said to them, If we only do good to our own, we are no better than heathen and publicans; we are not the children of our heavenly Father, who maketh the sun to rise upon the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust. On this exhortation of their bishop, the Christians willingly went to work and lent their aid, partly by giving their property, in part by their personal efforts. Much misery was relieved, and the spread of the pestilence warded off.

The Christians had found an enemy in Gallus, but promised themselves rest, from the change in policy under his successors. The emperor Valerianus, who came to the throne in 253, did something towards putting a stop to persecution. But in the fifth year of his reign, the restoration and gathering together of the churches came to an end. The weak old man was excited by his favorite, Macrianus, to misgivings at the growth of the church, and its daily enrollment of many noble members. He forbade the assembling of Christians for worship, and issued edicts for their punishment. Their bishops, and those of them in high civil offices, were the first taken; and when dungeons, confiscations, and banishments had no effect, he proceeded to public executions.

In Carthage, the proconsul, directly upon receiving the imperial command, ordered Cyprian to appear before him. Finding him steadfast in confessing his faith, and in refusing to name the presbyters of the Carthage church, he banished him to Curubis, a place on the sea, about a day's journey out of the city. Cyprian continued there his care for his flock. He seems to have been left in peace, and to have gathered many Christians round him. Here, as in many another instance, the banished were made the better able to scatter the seed of the gospel. Yet day by day he felt that his end was approaching. He was assured of it by a vision that was given him. He now strengthened his own soul with the thoughts he had drawn from God's Word to comfort and help others whom he saw striving and suffering for Christ's sake. He would humbly resign himself to God's will, testify for Him joyfully, and bear the

cross after Him. He would hope strongly and gladly for the coming glories, by whose side the present sufferings were nothing. In this heroic spirit he wrote letters to his brethren, some of them condemned to work in the mines, some languishing in dungeons. He would not be persuaded by friends to save himself by flight, which was still possible. He thought he was fulfilling the Lord's will by continuing steadfastly as he was.

The proconsul, Paternus, dying suddenly, Cyprian returned to Carthage. The persecutions against Christians were, however, continued by Galerius, his successor. The day of Cyprian's last trial soon came. The city was all in an uproar; even many heathen had awaked in them grateful emotions towards the good man, for his help in their necessities. But the proconsul was obliged to execute the emperor's decree. The sentence was this: "That Cyprian may serve as a Sentence and execution. warning to all who through his preaching and example have become the enemies of the gods of the Romans, he is to be executed by the sword; that through his blood order may be restored." "God be praised," said the bishop, as he heard the sentence. It was the 14th of September, 258, when he took his way on foot out to the place of execution, near Carthage. Great throngs of the faithful accompanied him. Many a one longed to die with him. With the greatest calmness he arranged everything himself, laid aside his priestly robes, and handed them to the deacons that stood by, then fell on his knees and prayed, amid many tears. Then he rose, placed the bandage upon his eyes himself, and offered his neck to receive the death-stroke.

His death was also seed sown to eternal life. The congregation at Carthage was assured that their faithful shepherd and preserver had gone to the joy of the Lord, and had received the crown of life. They were built up by his heroic testimony, and increased in spiritual power and efficiency. They established a house of worship on the place where the execution took place. In it, Augustine, full of the spirit of Cyprian, preached many times in after years, and kept alive the memory of the departed. The church has ever counted Cyprian among her saints for the sake of what he did and suffered in the service of the kingdom of our Lord. — L. W.

LIFE IX. LAWRENCE OF ROME.

A. D. 230 ?—A. D. 257. IN THE WEST,—ITALY.

FOR sixteen centuries the name of Lawrence the martyr has been heard in Christendom, stirring the hearts of God's servants to reverence and hope. He has shone illustrious among Christ's witnesses as far as the gospel has spread. His name has been inscribed by many churches on their portals, to preserve his memory or to commend themselves to his care. Princes of the church, such as Ambrose, Augustine, Leo First, and others, for a thousand years have exalted him by their eloquence. Spain and Rome have disputed with each other the honor of the birth-place of this brave standard-bearer of Christ.¹

In the year 257, when the emperor Valerian's early leniency to the Christians was exchanged for tyrannic severity and bloody persecution, our hero meets us as one of the seven deacons of bishop Sixtus, and indeed as the leader of the seven. Besides his duties in public worship and in the instruction of catechumens, he had in charge the keeping of the vessels of the church and the care of her poor. He was marked by an ardent zeal and exemplary fidelity in his office. The poet Prudentius, a native of Saragossa in Spain, who made his home in the city of Rome a century and a half afterwards, serving there as a colonel of the imperial body-guard, devotes a hymn in his work, "Peristephanon," or "Crown of Victory," to the sufferings of the holy Lawrence. He says, —

"First of seven in holy duty, fame and praise for Christ he gains, —
Watching, serving; perfect beauty out of gloomy night attains."

The pure mind and large endowments of the young man were quickly recognized by bishop Sixtus. Especially attracted by his lovableness, and virgin-like spirit, he made him his pupil. His joy grew, as he beheld the Holy Spirit's work making great advance in the young man's heart. He made him archdeacon, and gave his zeal thus abundant room for exercise. Lawrence's name was soon in good report far and near. Especially was he revered as an angel of God to the poor, as he went unassumingly and helpfully to them, an unwearied messenger of good. Augustine, who commemorates him in more than one glowing memorial, declares "Lawrence's crown shall be lost in night not till Rome herself

¹ He was the son, according to a Spanish legend, of a distinguished general, and when deserted as a babe under a laurel tree (hence his name Laurentius), was found by the Roman priest Sixtus, given to a nurse to bring up, and afterwards carried to Rome. Italy, which was Lawrence's true home, thought earth too small for his fame, and bade the sky herald his praise, when she gave to falling stars the name of "Lawrence's Tears." The martyr stories and church legends ascribe to Lawrence a great number of wonderful doings, some of them without precedent. The undisputed wonder wrought by him, which ennobleth him as one of the first heroes of the kingdom of God, was his faithful martyr death.

is lost. He left, by his blessed well-doing in Rome, many a footprint. He is one of whom Christ said, 'Whoso loseth his life for my sake, the same shall find it.' He kept the faith by his martyr-blood, in scorn of earth. How God must honor him, when men yield him so great honors!" In another passage this same father says: "With what varied witness, with what diversified splendor of beauteous flowers, the garland of the martyr Lawrence, beyond others, is adorned, all Rome is witness." Leo the Great places Lawrence alongside Stephen, and says that as one in Jerusalem, so the other in Rome attained an indelible fame.

Few particulars of Lawrence's life are preserved outside of legends. His history turns on his martyrdom. In this the nobility of his spirit centres its radiance and shines with clear light. As one of the old doctors says: "Lawrence's triumph is celebrated by the whole world in glowing admiring unison."

His teacher and father-like friend, bishop Sixtus, preceded him to martyrdom. He was sentenced by the governor of Rome to the death of the cross for Christ's sake, while Valerian, the emperor, was away on his campaign against the Persians. Lawrence tearfully accompanied his father in the Lord, weeping not from sympathy so much as genuine loyalty, because he was not allowed to share his envied lot. He cried to him, as Ambrose tells: "Whither, father, goest thou without thy son? Whither, holy priest, hastenest thou without thy deacon? Thou wast never wont to present thy worship without an assistant. Why am I then deprived of trust by thee, my father? Hast thou found me backsliding? Hast thou found me apostate? Prove if thou didst in me enlist an unworthy servant! Wilt thou, to him whom thou thoughtest not unworthy of thy fellowship in the setting apart of the blood of the Lord, and the administering of the Supper, now deny fellowship in thine own blood? Will not thy judgment be less esteemed, even though thy courage be praised? The slighting of the pupil dims the glory of the master. Do not great men in victorious wars rejoice in the brilliant victories of their pupils as their own? Recollect, too, that Abraham offered Isaac, Peter sent Stephen before him. Thou, father, exalt thyself in thy son! Give to the Lord him whom thou instructedst, securing praise from futurity and a companion for thy coronation!" Lawrence spoke thus. The bishop answered: "My son, I leave thee not behind. Greater conflicts are reserved for thee than me. They rightly belong to thee. For us old men, the easier trials are designed. The more glorious victories over tyrants are left for the youth. Weep not, for thou shalt soon follow. Within three days thou shalt come. Such a space is fittingly placed between the priest and the Levite. Thou art not suffered to conquer under thy master's eye, lest it should seem that thou wert in need of support. And why covet a share of my martyrdom? I leave thee thy full inheritance. Why covet my

Described by
Ambrose.

presence? The weaker pupils go before their teacher, the stronger follow, having no need of a leader, that they may win without a leader. So Elijah once left Elisha behind. I commend to thee to follow my example." The prediction to Lawrence (if so made) was fulfilled. The youth followed his master after three days, falling a victim to the pagan governor's lust for gold and hate of Jesus Christ. The latter imagined that there was concealed under the care of this untiring guardian and benefactor of the poor a rich church-treasure. This he ordered him to produce, under heavy threats if he refused to obey. How our deacon deported himself is told by Prudentius: —

"Lawrence calmly hears his pleasure, bowing with a noble grace;
 'Wealthy is the church in treasure, earth affords no richer place;
 Caesar's mints and flowing coffers no such treasure can display.
 What our Lord's blest storehouse proffers, quickly at thy feet I'll lay!
 Goats the foe, as Lawrence offers, what will fill his castle-coffers.'"

Lawrence then requires a space of time, in which he promises to collect the desired treasures. But what is this he has gathered together? The poor, the wretched, the maimed ones of the church, yet stamped with Christ's likeness. These he arranges in a long rank in the porch of the sanctuary, and then asks the governor and his officers to come and accept the church's jewels.¹

The pagan, raging over the illusion practiced, and angry against a religion that counted such possessions valuable, commands Lawrence to abjure Christ. Upon his saying that nothing shall ever induce him to do so, he commands him to be whipped till he is drenched in blood. When the desired recantation is still not made, the anger of his foe plans the most horrible decree, ordering an iron grating to be heated in the fire, and the "obstinate Nazarene" to be tortured to death upon it, as slowly as possible. Prudentius introduces the pagan as saying:—

"'Death,' thou sayest, 'cannot thee frighten! Thine illusion I'll destroy:
 No quick end thy woes shall lighten, life and need shall long annoy;
 I can pain and mis'ry heighten, tortures fierce but slow employ.'"

He ordered and it was done. Lawrence lay stretched on his horrible death-couch bravely, even joyously. Augustine says of him: "By as little as he shrank horrified from the heat that must consume his body, by so much did his soul rise lovingly to the joys of heaven; contrasted with the glow kindled in his heart, the flame of outer torture grew cool and mild." Leo says: "Christ's love in him could not be overpowered by the flame. The fire without was fainter than that within."

Prudentius sings, also, of Lawrence's death of torture:²—

¹ Prudentius dwells on this incident at length.

² Tradition says that Lawrence, when his body on one side was all surrounded by the fire, with serene look desired that they should so turn him as to give his other side to the glowing iron bars. After that was done, his soul escaped from its bruised shell and rose to the joy of the Lord.

“Splendor lightens all his features! Such from Sinai Moses brought,
Shaming by his glance the creatures who Jehovah had forgot.
Such the first of martyr teachers from the opening heavens caught.”

Further he is portrayed by the poet praying amid his tortures:—

“Pour, O God, on Rome thy spirit! Hence send faith to every shore;
Earth’s remotest lands shall hear it, when this folk thy grace implore!
Firm my hope, since this foundation Paul and Peter joined to lay.
Lo! a Prince shall rise, our nation to redeem from pagan sway;
Heathen shrines in rich donation shall he give for Christ’s oblation!”

His prophecy concerning Rome, says Prudentius, was fulfilled:—

“Idol might since then has withered, temples to the church give way.”

And with the close of this old hymn of Prudentius we may end our brief story of the heroic course of one of the most reverend and glorious of the ancient Christian martyrs. He sings:—

“Thus for Christ unarmed striving, Lawrence wounds the pagan arm,
In his death its fall contriving, frees th’ oppressed from idol harm;
Happy Rome, his bones retaining, shall the martyr homage pay.
We rejoice, his soul attaining heaven’s high immortal day.
Hero! with th’ elect remaining, crown’d in splendor thou art reigning!”

F. W. K.

LIFE X. BLANDINA.

A. D. 150 ?—A. D. 177. IN THE WEST, — GAUL.

ON no other land has the tempter’s rage been expended as on France; especially has South France suffered, and that part of the south that has counted Lyons its capital. Celebrated among French cities for its antiquity and influence, Lyons, that lies so pleasantly on the banks of two rivers, has been more than once a door for the introduction of the gospel into France, as also for the entrance of commerce and civilization. If blows could be struck this city and vicinity (so it was planned), by the enemy, they would be felt to the utmost limit of a wide circle, of which Lyons was the natural centre. There was witnessed an example of this, terrible in its character but encouraging to our faith, very soon after the gospel had first entered Gaul. At Lyons, and at Vienne in Dauphiny, in the year 177, occurred the martyrdom of the first bishop of Lyons, and a great number of church members of both places. A short account of the same will here be given. It is taken from a Account by eye-witnesses. contemporary document, one of the most precious that has come down to us from the early days of Christianity; namely, a letter which was sent by the churches of Lyons and Vienne to the churches in Asia and Phrygia. Its author was possibly Irenæus, who succeeded Pothinus as bishop. It has been preserved by Eusebius in his “Church History” (book v., chap. 6). There is not space here, unfortunately, to

repeat the entire letter, full as it is of the apostolic spirit. But we will at least introduce extracts from the ancient venerable testimony.

Certain members of the two churches, who already as servants of Christ had endured various trials, were led into the open square in Lyons, before the governor of the province, to be publicly examined. He treated them so severely that a young Christian there named Epagathus, not before known as such, asked leave to defend the innocence of his brethren. The judge gave him his desire, so as to associate him with the others when he had confessed his belief, and named him, meanwhile, by way of ridicule, the Christian's advocate. Such an example stirred up other Christians to come out from the heathen, among whom they had remained until now. By fresh arrests, the number of Christ's witnesses was at once increased. The falsehoods which fear of torture had forced from certain Christian slaves, who were taken along with their masters, excited the rage of the people and the governor to the utmost. They proceeded, regardless of age or sex, to the most cruel inflictions, in order to shake, if possible, the constancy of the martyrs. Some of them, especially those who had just confessed their faith the first time, were come to this ordeal without girding themselves with strength, or rather, without thoroughly feeling their weakness. These succumbed. Ten Christians denied their faith. They caused distress to the church, which trembled as she saw the increasing number of apostates. The most remained unshaken, in spite of all the arts of hell which the heathen used to sharpen and increase their pangs in the hope of at last overcoming them.¹

¹ What horrid proofs of the natural depravity of man and his embittered hate of divine truth we find, when executioner, people, and governor are busied whole days, and even nights, directing all their mental powers to discover a torture more ingenious than former ones, and suited to extract from its victim a word of submission and falsehood. What an evident sign of the grace of the invisible God, when we see these victims, one after another, men and women, old men, youths and maidens, and even children, bearing all the power and cunning of the enemy, constant amid their manifold pains, and answering their persecutors only by an humble yet invincible confession of their faith. All this could be seen in the Lyons persecution. One or two quotations may be added here, hard as it is to describe these horrid events.

"The blessed Pothinus, who was at that time over the Lyons church, and seemed still young and active in spirit, though frail in body, was carried by the soldiers before the tribunal. At the near prospect of martyrdom, a look of gladness lighted his features. His body, wasted by the load of years and a recent sickness, was only detaining the soul to give it a triumph through Jesus Christ. The multitude ran together, raising a great outcry against him, and overwhelming him with reproaches, embittered as they were against the person of Jesus Christ. When the governor asked him who the God of the Christians was, he, to anticipate the calumnies which he foresaw, replied that he should know Him, as soon as he proved himself worthy of it. Thereupon he was covered with abuse. Those near by gave him severe blows, regardless of his age. Those further away threw at him whatever was at hand. Pothinus, with but a breath of life left, was thrown back into prison, where, in two days, he died."

"Sanctus, a native of Vienne, and deacon of the church of Lyons, endured unheard-of sufferings with extraordinary patience. The pagans flattered themselves that by repeated tortures they would elicit from him some inconsistent utterance. But he met their attacks with a steadfastness which nothing could overcome. To every question he replied, 'I am a Christian.' This title answered for name, for country, for position, for everything; not another word could be got from him. The governor and executioners no longer restrained their fury. After every skillfully contrived barbarity that they could think of, they applied a red-hot iron bar to the most sensitive parts, but, kept firm by grace, the martyr persisted in this confession of faith. His person was so tortured and covered with wounds as no longer to look like a man's body. Jesus Christ, who in him was persecuted, made an in-

And to whom in this little company of heroes must the palm be given, if it is allowed to choose? To a poor maid named Blandina. Her martyrdom by itself made a greater impression on the pagans than all the rest. She ended a long succession of most horrid tortures by her death in the midst of the amphitheatre.

She was first brought to torture along with Sanctus and Maturus. "She was," says the letter which is our authority, "of such weak bodily frame that we all trembled for her; especially ^{A weak maiden.} her mistress, who was one of the martyrs, feared that she had neither strength nor courage to confess her faith. But the woman, wonderful to say, was able by the help of God to bid defiance to the several executioners who tortured her from daybreak until night. They finally owned themselves vanquished. They affirmed that the resources of their barbarous art were exhausted, and testified their astonishment that Blandina, after all she had endured, was still living. We do not understand it, they

strument of him to triumph over the foe, and to prove that there is no pain that cannot be vanquished when borne for his glory. The martyr, after some days, was subjected to a new trial. The executioners applied the iron and fire again to the still inflamed wounds. They hoped either to weary his steadfastness or end his life, and thus to intimidate the other Christians. Their hopes were disappointed. To the great amazement of the spectators, the martyr's frame again received strength and the use of its limbs."

Some days after, Sanctus, with his friend Maturus, who had endured almost as much, was led into the amphitheatre to be exposed to wild beasts. "The horrors were renewed which they had before suffered. After a fearful scourging they were left to the fury of the beasts, which dragged them about the amphitheatre. They suffered still other tortures, as the people, at their pleasure, now demanded that this or that torture be inflicted. Finally the pagans proposed that they be seated on a red-hot iron stool. The intolerable odor which their burnt flesh emitted, far from moderating the fury of the people, only the more excited it. But they could force from the mouth of Sanctus nothing else than his first confession, 'I am a Christian.' After he, with Maturus, had suffered a long time, they both were strangled."

The Lord mercifully favored those weak youths who had at the first yielded through fear of suffering (and who of us dare cast the first stone at them?). Among them, the first to be strengthened was a woman named Biblis. Not contented with having brought her to deny her faith, the pagans would force her to accuse her brothers. They brought her to the torture. The excess of their wickedness made her lose all fear of the pain. Weak but true, Biblis at no time consented to speak evil of the church. The pain of present torture turned her thoughts to the eternal pangs of hell. She waked as out of slumber, gave God the glory, and won the crown of martyrdom. The Lord used different means to recover the other fallen ones. The faithless executioners threw them into prison with their brethren, made them share their sufferings, and thereby show them bitterly their folly. The difference of experience in this common trial was great. The fallen found an increase of pain in the reproaches of conscience, while the confessors, by the Word of God and the Divine Spirit who quickened them, were kept strong. They could be distinguished by their appearance: the martyrs were calm and happy; the fallen, sorrowful and downcast, who would have faith in their steadfastness if they now could recall their apostasy. Their condition was desperate and seemingly without remedy. But an opportunity was again offered them by a providential circumstance, to suffer for the Lord. The governor had learned that Attalus, one of the faithful martyrs, was a Roman citizen. He dared not put him to death, without an order from the emperor, whose advice he also asked in reference to the other prisoners. The answer had to be waited for. This respite was used by the confessors to secure, if possible, by prayers and warnings, the recovery of their fallen brothers. Finally the emperor's answer arrived. The wise Marcus Aurelius willed that they execute those who abode by their confession and release those who abjured. Hereupon the grace of Jesus Christ shone in the timid youths who for a moment denied Him. They were examined, in order to be set free. But most declared that they were Christians and would be sentenced, with the rest, to death. What a triumph for the church! What a joy for the angels in heaven! The rest of the martyrs, Attalus, Alexander, who had given himself up in like circumstances as Epagathus, and their comrades, in execution of the emperor's command were sternly put to death by strangling, with fresh tortures to the last.

said, for some single tortures of these we employ ought to end her life, according to the common course of torture. Meanwhile Blandina was gaining new strength by the confession of her faith. 'I am a Christian,' she cried, and by this utterance dulled the point of her anguish."

Then Blandina was led into the amphitheatre, the day of the strangling of Sanctus and Maturus, and made fast to a post, in order to be consumed by wild beasts. But none of them touched her, and she was then unbound and led back to prison, kept for another conflict.

This last conflict came on the closing day of the gladiatorial shows.

Blandina was brought into the arena, at the same time with a boy comrade. a youth, a boy of fifteen years, named Ponticus. Both of them had been compelled, already, to be present all the preceding days at the executions of the martyrs. Now an effort was put forth to make them swear by the pagan idols. The sex of one and the youth of the other was counted on to secure submission. In this expectation Jesus Christ was forgotten, who makes use of weakness to put strength to shame. They both refused to obey. The crowd, like a wild beast that sees its prey escape, wished every kind of torture to be exhausted. Ponticus was first taken. Encouraged by his brave companion he went through all the degrees of martyrdom with steadfastness, and ended with a peaceful death. Blandina was left alone like Jesus Christ in the wilderness: hell tempting, the earth vanishing, heaven supporting. "She was whipped, torn by the beasts, set upon a hot chair; afterwards she was inclosed in a net to be thrown to a wild raging ox, and was tossed all broken into the air. Finally she was strangled. So great courage confounded the pagans. They owned that there was no woman among their number that could have endured such an amazing and long-continued course of suffering."

Reader, is the spirit of this woman also in thee? Of herself she was only what thou art. Seek what she sought, and thou wilt find what she found. "When I am weak, then am I strong." — A. M.

LIFE XI. PERPETUA.

A. D. 181—A. D. 203. IN THE WEST,—NORTH AFRICA.

In the year 203, at Carthage, the proconsul, Hilarianus, caused several catechumens to be sent to prison, among them two women, Perpetua and Felicitas.

Ubia Perpetua was the daughter of one who, though not a Roman citizen, was yet of the higher classes. While not preventing his wife and children from becoming Christians, he was himself steadfast in his hereditary paganism. Perpetua was twenty-two years old, had enjoyed the

best education that could be given in Carthage, was already married, and was cherishing upon her bosom a loved babe. She was thus bound, as it seemed, by the deepest and strongest ties to earthly existence, filled full, as it was to her, with the promise of every joy. With Felicitas it was different. She was also a wife, and was carrying a child, but she was a slave. She heard the joyous message, and entered the freedom of Christ, while under bondage and service owed by her to a master. In their common imprisonment, the two felt that they were one in the Lord who redeemed them.

Perpetua's father first foresaw the danger threatening his dear child. "I was," so she herself narrates, "associated in life with my persecutors; my father, in his love for me, was ever trying afresh to overcome me and withdraw me from my faith. 'My father,' said I, 'thou seest this vessel lying here: this little vase?' 'I see it,' he said. I replied, 'Can it be designated by any other name?' And he answered, 'No.' 'Lo, then, I cannot call myself other than I am. — a Christian.' Then father was furious, and threw himself on me, as if he would tear out my eyes, but he only dealt me some blows." Perpetua, thus enduring and overcoming, thanked her Father in heaven. Left to herself, away from the conflict prepared her, she strengthened her spirit. Some days later she became assured, in her baptism, of her salvation. While she was receiving consecration in the baptismal water, she heard the voice of the Holy Spirit within her, which prophetically bade her to pray for nothing unless for patience and endurance in her flesh.

"After some days," so she further says, "were we taken to prison; and I shuddered, because I had never known such a dark place in all my life." Soon, however, by the payment of a sum of money by the deacons, Tertius and Pomponius, who served them, her removal was effected to a better room in the prison. Also her babe was allowed to share her imprisonment with her.

In this time of prison life, she bore everything cheerfully, in the feeling that she was suffering for her Master. With her companions she strengthened herself for enduring in united prayer. She gladly received her relatives as they visited her, and quickened her own soul and theirs by the interchange of loving words. She was awaked in all her being, as a young mother, by the tender enjoyment of her babe; as a happy daughter and sister, by the knowledge that her mother, brothers, and sisters humbly embraced the Lord with faith like her own. She waited in calmness the development of events. In her entire consciousness she was already a citizen of a higher world. She saw a ladder of wondrous height, which reached up to heaven, but was so narrow that it could be ascended by only one person at a time. On its sides at every step were fastened iron weapons, swords, lances, hooks, knives, so that whoever climbed heedlessly, without ever looking upwards, was wounded and torn.

Under the ladder a dragon lay, of immense size, who prepared snares for the climbers and frightened them back. She saw also a garden of immeasurable extent, and, sitting in the midst of it, an old man of great stature, in the guise of a shepherd, who was occupied in milking his flock, and about him men in white garments, many thousands. He gave to her a particle of the flowing milk which he obtained. By this she was assured of her early liberation from her earthly life.

Directly after this her perils began. The accused had to be given open trial. Then her father hastened from the city, bowed down A father's entreaty. by woes, and sought anew to bring his daughter to recant. "Pity, daughter," he cried, "my gray hairs; pity thy father, if I am worthy still to be called thy father; when with mine hand I have led thee to this full blossom of life; when I have loved thee before all thy brothers, do me not this shame among men." "And I wept," so she tells, "over my father's gray hairs, that he alone of my whole race could not rejoice in my sufferings, and I sought to comfort him. I said, When I stand before the magistrate at the scaffold, there will come what God wills; for I know we are not in our own power but in God's power. And he parted from me in great sorrow." Soon came her trial. The forum was already filled with an immense throng of spectators when the young Christians were hurried away from an early meal to their examination. They made their appearance, ascending the platform on which they were to receive their sentence. They all commended themselves to the Lord. When Perpetua's turn came, her father appeared along with his child and made new entreaty. The procurator, Hilarianus, also addressed her in the most friendly way. She answered briefly and decisively, "I cannot." "Thou art then a Christian?" said Hilarianus. "I am a Christian," she replied. There was then no further room for delay. She, with the rest, was sentenced to be thrown to the wild beasts. They returned with joyous hearts to the prison. Perpetua sent the deacon Pomponius to her father, seeking to have her child once more, but in vain; her father did not send it. The fate of herself and her fellow-sufferers was to come very soon. At the military celebration, the 7th of March, of the anniversary of the promotion (some years before this) of the emperor's son, Geta, to the dignity of Cæsar, they were all to be exposed, for the cruel entertainment of the people and soldiers, in a conflict with wild beasts.

The interval passed quietly. One of the condemned fell sick and died. Felicitas grew very fearful that the favor of martyrdom would be denied to her, since her confinement was near, and at such time the sentence of death against a woman could not be executed; but her ardent wish, which was also the common prayer of the condemned, was fulfilled; she was given in prison a little daughter. In the midst of her pain, a servant said to her, "Thou that now sufferest so, what will come of thee when thou

art thrown to the wild beasts? of which thou, when thou refusedst to sacrifice, didst make nothing." She replied, "Now, *I myself* suffer what I suffer; but then there will be another with me, who will suffer for me, because I also suffer for Him." Her little babe was taken by a sister to be brought up as her own.

A slave's steadfastness.

Perpetua enjoyed the consciousness of utter separation from the world. She abode continually with her own thoughts. Still the world did not give her up. The keeper of the prison, Prudens, though a pagan, enlarged his heart toward the prisoners whom he had to guard, and afforded them as many privileges as he dared. Many came to their prison, and rejoiced with them. When the day of her execution approached, her father came for the last time with heart broken by his sorrow. Yet he failed to turn her from her decision.

Thus the farewell moments of life drew near. At one time, as a tribune began to treat the accused roughly, Perpetua, by a strong and decided remonstrance, made him retire abashed. The last meal, such as was wont to be allowed to all persons under sentence, was to them a love-feast, in which they comforted one another and won converts to their faith.

At last the day of victory dawned. The prisoners proceeded out of prison to the amphitheatre, as if repairing from earth to heaven, serene, with serious, dignified countenances, "only trembling a little from joy, not out of fear." Perpetua went with light steps, as a bride of Christ, as the loved of God. By the power of her look she constrained all to cast down their eyes before her. Felicitas, too, did not conceal her joy that she had borne her child, and attained happiness, going to the fight with the wild beasts, and to her second baptism, the baptism of blood.

They thus reached the entrance of the amphitheatre. There the officers would have forced the men to enter arrayed as priests of Saturn, the women as devotees of Ceres. Perpetua, ever like herself, steadfast and firm, refused decidedly, saying, "We are come hither of our own free will that our freedom might not be thus violated or taken away from us." The tribune in attendance yielded and let her enter just as she came.

The battles of the wild beasts began. The men were slain by a leopard and a bear. The women were exposed to a mad cow, their garments taken off them, and a loose net thrown about them. When the people looked on them they were moved with sympathy at the sight, and bade them be called back, to come again to the fight with clothing put around them. Perpetua was first taken and tossed by the wild beast; after her Felicitas. Perpetua, falling on her back, sat up and drew her garment, torn at the side, together again to cover her, showing only modesty, but not pain. Then again led near, she fastened and smoothed her hair, to receive her martyr crown without the look of misery and pain which is given by disheveled locks. When she rose she noticed that

Felicitas was also thrown to the ground. She ran to her, extended her hand, and lifted her up. They stood both waiting one by the other. But already the cruelty of the people was subdued. The women were withdrawn from the fight with the beasts and led to the door of the amphitheatre, where those who escaped alive out of the fight were accustomed to be put to death. When Perpetua came thither she was welcomed by a catechumen named Rusticus. Looking about her, as one awakened out of sleep, — she was in such a frame of exaltation, — she said to the

The theatre ;
closing act.

amazement of all, “When are we to be led to that wild
cow, for I do not know ;” and when she heard that it was all over, she only believed when she saw the marks of the conflict on her own person and on her clothes, and recognized the catechumen. To him and her brother, who had meantime been summoned, she spoke her last words : “Stand fast in the faith, love one another, and let not our sufferings prove a stumbling-block to you.” The martyrs were now, at the desire of the people, summoned into the midst of the amphitheatre. When Perpetua was run through her side by the sword, she cried out, and then directed the hand of her young and inexperienced executioner to her throat, which, under her direction, he then severed. Her innocent blood, thus shed, became a new, fresh, bubbling spring. Of its waters many drank, and were strengthened to enter the kingdom of Christ, and enrol themselves under the banner of the Lamb.

The church in Carthage, with holy pride, took the revered remains and buried them in the principal church, where they were carefully preserved for centuries, as an imperishable treasure. Thus the festival of Geta became a holy day of the church. Augustine has left three inspired discourses delivered by him with holy fervor on the day sacred to Perpetua and Felicitas. On that day each year the Christians among whom their lacerated bodies lay buried were wont to go in countless throngs to their shrines. Thus untaught catechumens and even slaves, becoming Christians and receiving baptism in the midst of persecution, kindled a light which shone out clear to the Christian church universal, and still sends its light down to our century. The evangelical church appropriates this light. She is strengthened by these martyrs as by weak and fragile copies of the Lord and Master. She grows stronger, thus, to confess Jesus with full devotion, even amid rising dangers ; to maintain for future ages the gospel as it is contained in the Scripture, in its purity and majesty, unmarred by the inventions of man. — F. R.

LIFE XII. PAPHNUTIUS OF EGYPT.

A. D. 275 ?—A. D. 350 ? IN THE EAST,— EGYPT.

PAPHNUTIUS was an Egyptian bishop, who, during the Diocletian persecution, had shown his faithfulness in Christian confession. When the first church council in the Roman Empire met in Nice (325), he was summoned to take a part in its affairs. Brought up from youth among monks, he had never tasted worldly pleasure. He had remained unmarried, and obtained high regard by his temperance and purity. Not for this, however, is he here celebrated. Equal piety appeared in many of his day, and in those not bishops, nor in any church office. Equal self-denial, also, was found. Indeed, for near a century the utter mortification of the flesh, and subjugation of the instincts of nature, had been growing in reverence. Monks and hermits had gone to extremes, some from vain ambition, others with pure spirit, seeking but to please God and keep body and soul unspotted. Of these was Paphnutius, whose mind was uttered in his declaration that he would not make his life and his conscience the standard for all others, and that he would take great care not to prohibit by strict law what God had not prohibited, but left free to every person's judgment. In a decisive hour Paphnutius became a powerful admonisher of the whole venerable assembly of Nicene bishops. He spoke a good word at the right time. His word in season. He thereby preserved at least the Eastern church from advancing towards the shocking custom of enforced celibacy for pastors. Adopted, as it was, very soon after, in the West, it excited bitter disputes and unholy wars. It weakened the conscience in the bosom of the clergy, who should have been a strength to the consciences of others.¹

¹ As to marriage of priests. This title we use, though it is not evangelical to call ministers priests, as though they were intercessors between man and God; or as though all Christians were not a nation of priests, a holy people, needing no mediator save the one Mediator between God and men, Christ Jesus. Ever since the year 200, at least, had there been a conception of priests as in charge of God's worship. Presbyters or elders, entrusted with discipline, became priests; bishops, or leaders, became chief priests; the deacons, the collectors, managers, and distributors of the moneys for church support, and the poor and the sick, were made under priests. Thus things were found by Paphnutius, who neither would nor could alter them. But now priests, whether bishops, presbyters, or deacons, were to be made a different race of creatures from other Christians, like angels, who neither eat, nor marry, nor are given in marriage. The monks had promoted the view that not only the wicked, fleshly lusts, but also physical need and craving, were impure; that men must live as if disembodied, if they would live holy. Priests must not be less holy than monks, who were but laymen. They could not, indeed, give up eating and drinking, unless they chose to starve. But it became them not simply to live temperately, as every Christian ought, but to deny themselves, in their fasts, the very necessities. Priests were thought of as holy when signs of excessive fasting, pallor and leanness, were exhibited. Married life, and children, in the eyes of all who wanted to be holy in the popular way, were a desecration of the priesthood. Yet apostolic Christians had taken no offense when bishops were both husbands and fathers. The Nicene Council came in a transition period, when the lingering simplicity of old ways came into conflict with new and distorted views of holiness, and gave way to them. Let it be confessed, however, that the safe mean of what is wholesome, becoming, and Christian in marriage is hard for either the individual or the law to determine. A minister of the word must especially be circumspect in wooing and

When the bishops in Nice held conference upon the marriage of the clergy, legislation on the subject was still within bounds. Now they were on the verge of going to extremes. There were many bishops, priests, and deacons, who were married. They had their wives before they entered the ministerial office. They had children also. Now, it was likely to be ordained that those entering the priesthood must renounce the marriage relation; it was to be a disgrace to priests to have children. Already a provincial synod (305) in Elvira, in Spain, had so far yielded to this sentiment as to forbid all priests to touch their wives under penalty of deposition from the priesthood. The minds of the bishops in Nice were already inclined to the elevating of this rule into an universal church law, when Paphnutius stepped forward into the midst

of the assembly, and roared out, "Lay not upon the priests
Speech at Nice.

this heavy yoke. Marriage is honorable in all, and the bed undefiled. Take care lest by your exaggerated strictness a new wound be inflicted upon the church; all are not able to subdue the instincts of nature. The chastity of the divorced wife may not be preserved. Union in marriage with a lawful wife is chastity. Certainly it is enough, if those already in the ministry keep from marrying, following the old church tradition; but the man who, as a layman, is married already, must not be asked to part from his wife." The whole assembly gave their approbation to the words of Paphnutius. The council, in their decisions, passed the whole question over quietly, and left it to every one's free will to say whether he would deny himself the privilege of marriage.¹

wedding, neither wounding his own or his wife's conscience, nor giving occasion of scandal. We would not advocate shameless license, for this were restoring the flesh to dominion. Though the disposition for it be adorned with the fig-leaves of art, with taste for beauty, love, and poetry, it matters not; it deceives only those who want to be deceived. Chastity, in or out of marriage, is a great reality. Christian peace of mind without it is impossible. True chastity is not a subject of statute. Under the mask of a legally imposed chastity has the most destructive licentiousness crept into the unmarried priesthood. Good customs are better than strict laws. Still they cannot create that which grace and prayer alone are able to produce, even a pure mind.

¹ The Greek church in the East did not take away that liberty, albeit public opinion, here and there, was unfavorable to a married clergy. Not long after the Council of Nice, a church assembly in Paplagonia had occasion to pronounce an anathema against any who refused to take sacrament from a married priest. Later, this could hardly happen, at least in respect to bishops, for it was the custom to take the higher clergy from among the monks, whose vows forbade their marriage. In the Western church celibacy became a church ordinance, though it took centuries to enforce it. Pope Siricius (385) first dared to maintain the scripturalness of the prohibition, in a letter to a Spanish bishop, Himerius. Unmarried clergy were to have no women near them, save old persons of their kindred; a wise provision, which had been early made for monks. Yet it could not prevent concubinage with all its evils. Luther, in his letter to the clergy at Augsburg during the Reichstag (1530), in which the evangelical princes presented their triumphant confession, sought with voice of thunder to rouse consciences against this fearful abuse. What contradiction of God to forbid marriage, his ordinance, but allow concubinage, which He forbids! If the Roman church is now generally more careful, it is owing to the watch kept by the evangelical church by its side. The pain and uneasiness of conscience which the prohibition of clerical marriage excites in countless persons who cannot control the impulses of nature are surely a secret cancer to-day in the church of Rome. Those are happy, who, married or single, by God's grace keep soul and body unspotted. The strong know best (what the dead sensualist hides from himself, as he surrenders his conscience to the idols of natural impulse and blind force) that in our flesh dwelleth no good thing, but that only through

Paphnutius especially shows us that in every matter of life we must preserve and respect the liberty God has granted us. What God has forbidden is sin. Man should not needlessly multiply prohibitions by statute, thus making sin of what before God is not sin. What is not forbidden is allowed. Not that it is always right to practice what is allowed. But it is to be decided by every individual, in each instance, whether his conscience and reason do not bind him, although he be not bound by precept. The more we have allowed us, the more are judgment, reflection, and will called to decide whether we must not deny ourselves. Enlarge the sphere of the lawful, and you enlarge the sphere of independent judgment; you gain room for exercising the full strength of the spirit, and the purity and vigilance of the heart; you educate men to true freedom. Children, fools, and transgressors must have the limits of the lawful made narrow; but the more a man loves God, understands his precepts in their spirit, and exercises self-control, the more he will find is allowed him. Human weakness, too, wants tender handling. There must not be demanded of men by precept or prohibition what is impossible, thus driving them to despair or hypocrisy. The weak should not be put under the yoke by intolerable precepts. The strong, when allowed freedom of choice, should take heed lest by any means this liberty become a stumbling block to them that are weak. It will be well if every one, both in respect to the forbidden and the lawful, and the use or the disuse of the lawful, will remember and imitate the wise bishop, Paphnutius. — II. E. S.

LIFE XIII. SPIRIDION OF CYPRUS.

A. D. 275 ?—A. D. 350 ? IN THE EAST, — CYPRUS.

IN the times of the emperor Constantine the Great, and his sons, the emperors Constans and Constantius, there lived on the island of Cyprus, blessed by Paul and Barnabas visiting it first on their earliest missionary journey, a devout man named Spiridion. He was the owner of a sheep-farm on the east coast of the island, near the village of Trimitunt, some distance out of Salamis. He took care of his flocks himself. A plain man, without external polish or book-learning, he was truly and deeply rooted in the faith. Mighty in prayer, and with A rural bishop. profound knowledge of the heart, he was sometimes credited with the power of working miracles and the gift of prophecy. He came of that

God's Son, who has shed his blood for our sins, and with struggle, toil, and prayer, does the Spirit become master of the flesh, and that this dear victory is to be ascribed not to self, but to the gift of God; that marriage, ordained of God for holy purposes, is, as a rule, to man and woman alike, a wholesome help and medicine, softening and refining impetuous nature, and assisting its submission to the Spirit.

simple age of Christianity when there were many bishops, and when bishoprics were no larger than parishes are now. The heart and life of a bishop were regarded by the people, then, rather than his eloquence or learning. Spiridion was made a bishop about the time of the last persecution under Galerius and Maximin. He was held in the greatest esteem by his congregation. His fame grew and obtained his name a place among the worthies of the Greek calendar, as also of the Latin. There gathered also about him, by reason of the originality of his piety, a mass of popular stories, in which history and legend can hardly be separated one from another. It is best for us not to try too strictly to make the separation, especially where the traditions help us to comprehend the man and his influence over men's minds.

No doubt exists that Spiridion was one of those faithful confessors whom Maximin, in his effort to destroy all Christians, and especially all bishops, doomed to toil in the mines, first putting out one eye, and crippling the joint of one knee. With these scars of Christ, Spiridion appeared, along with the rest, at the great church council at In the Nice Council. Nice, in Bithynia, which was opened by the emperor Constantine in person. He is thought, too, not without probability, to have been the venerable unnamed bishop who caused such an excitement there among Christians and pagans, by his exemplification of the power of faith. A pagan philosopher, with crafty eloquence, was mocking the Christian belief, and even embarrassing the learned bishops, who ought to have answered him. A plain old man advanced and desired a word. The request was granted him out of reverence for his worthy appearance, yet with apprehension that he would be turned to ridicule. Then he began calmly and earnestly: "Philosopher, listen in the name of Jesus Christ! One God is the maker of heaven and earth, of all things visible and invisible. By the power of his Word has He made all, and by the blessing of his Holy Spirit has He established all. This Word, whom we name God's Son, having pity on man's errors and on his brutish life, was born of a woman, lived with men, and died for them. He will come again, as the judge of men's doings. Such is the truth; so we believe without nice definitions. Give thyself then no trouble to oppose what is firm faith, or to seek objections, or to question how this could or could not be. Dost thou believe? Answer me!" To the amazement of all, the surprised philosopher answered, "I believe," and then thanked the old man, and advised the philosophers who had been of his opinion to follow his example, for he was stirred by an unspeakable influence, and not without the aid of God, to be a Christian. If this old man was not Spiridion, he was his image.

After the council, Spiridion dwelt at home as bishop, the same as before. Next to his congregation, he looked after his sheep.¹ He had had

¹ "There came one night some thieves to steal the sheep, who were stricken in the inclos-

a wife, and a daughter, Irene, who dwelt with him, and was of like mind with himself. While her father was at Nice, the maiden died.¹ When she was yet alive and keeping house for him, ^{Anecdotes.} there came, during a season of fasting, when he had been abstaining for days, a stranger, to pay him a visit. He bade his daughter wash the feet of the guest and set on food. She answered that there was no bread or meat in the house, except some bacon, the use of which in the fast was not allowed; but he bade her prepare the same and set it before the guest. He then partook, and bade the other help himself. He had first prayed the Lord to suffer him in this case to violate the ordinance of the church. The guest delayed, refused to eat, and said he was a Christian. "Then," answered the worthy man, "you need have no trouble about it. To the pure all things are pure."

But he could also be very strict when he thought that the reverence due God's Word was put aside by man's presumption. This was proven once by the young bishop of Ladra (otherwise Ludron), also a city of Cyprus. This man, Triphyllius by name, had been educated at Berytus (or Beyroun), on the Phœnician mainland, and had studied law and rhetoric. As a Christian, he submitted to Spiridion's training, which the latter exercised with holy zeal. He especially strove to expel his lofty pride of learning. He had such success that the man became known and honored as a saint, and is inscribed as such in the Latin calendar. At a synod of Cyprus bishops, this Triphyllius was assigned the duty of preaching the sermon. In the Scripture words, "Take up thy bed and walk," he ventured in place of the word for bed, which was not sufficiently elegant Greek, to introduce one more choice. At once Spiridion, hurrying up from his chair to his feet, called to him to say if he thought himself better than the Evangelist, that he was ashamed to copy the expression which had been used by him. This indignation commanded respect, and by his speech he accomplished his object.

His self-forgetfulness showed itself in many ways. He divided his bishop's revenues into two parts, of which he gave one to the poor, the other he lent out to those desiring. In doing this he was in the practice of not handing out the loan, but of letting them take out of the coffer themselves what they needed. He also let them put the money, when ^{one} by an unseen hand, and were found there the next morning by Spiridion, when he went to lead out his flock. They owned to him their guilty purpose. By his word and prayer he relieved them of the stroke with which, by his power with God, he had arrested them. He then said kindly 'that he would send them a wether, that they might not have had such a long watch in vain; that, however, they should have asked him for it, instead of trying to steal it.' He suffered, thus, no one to go away from him in trouble, but sought to make men better by love."

¹ "After his return, some one came and complained that he had committed a treasure to the deceased girl, and wanted it again. Spiridion replied that he knew nothing of it, yet searched for it, but without discovering any trace. The other so wept and cried as to try the bishop's heart. He betook himself to his daughter's grave, called her by name, and bade her tell him where she had hid the treasure. The voice of the dead indicated to him the place where she had buried it. He sought after and found it, and gave it to its owner."

they returned it, into the chest again, reposing thus full confidence in their integrity. There was a man who, at one time, abused this trust; for, as he laid the money back in the chest, he took it secretly up again. Spiridion said nothing; but after a while the same man came back to borrow money again. The bishop told him he should take the amount needed out of the coffer. He went to it, found nothing, and said that there was nothing there. "Ah," the bishop exclaimed, "that is a rare thing, indeed, that thou alone canst not find in the chest what thou needest. Thou must at some time have failed to put back what thou hadst taken. Otherwise thou wouldst certainly find what thou wast in need of. That I warrant thee, and if thou art innocent, go again now and take it." The man was convicted, and acknowledged his guilt.

Thus Spiridion was taught of God in all simplicity. He was able, therefore, to train and care for souls: for he knew what was in man. When he died is unknown. It is said that it was at the time of harvest, in gathering which he was himself assisting. Would that we had yet many country bishops like Spiridion. All may take of him a lesson.—G. F. S.

LIFE XIV. ATHANASIUS OF EGYPT.

A. D. 300 ?—A. D. 373. IN THE EAST, — EGYPT.

ATHANASIUS is distinguished in the church by the twofold title, "The Great," and "The Father of Orthodoxy." His character can be truly estimated only when viewed along with the whole course of his times. Men of historical note need, all of them, to be seen with their surroundings, to be fully understood. Some of them, however, in both ancient days and modern, present characters and lives so thoroughly cosmopolitan and human, that they might well belong to later scenes and later days, and even to our own. Others are so interwoven with their times that their portrait in its smallest trait cannot be viewed away from the historic background against which it is placed. Athanasius is among the latter. His greatness is inrooted in the growth of dogma by which in the fourth century the church was overspread; not as by accident, but by the law of her own development. Athanasius greatly promoted this growth. His penetrating mind was directed to the great theological questions which convulsed that age. His fate depended upon their solution. The greatness of his will, which bore calamity with the courage of a martyr, can therefore be best measured by understanding the questions named in all their significance. Athanasius was not called as a Justin, an Ignatius, or a Cyprian, to proclaim Christ as God's Son, against polytheists and idolaters, in face of the stake and the jaws of

beasts. Every one that owns and loves Christ as a Saviour can see how a man could die for that. But it was his vocation, with unflinching boldness, to stand up for the church's exact and orthodox belief, to resist the course of error, a duty as difficult as it is important. It may possibly astonish the simple Christian that a war had to be waged more than three hundred years upon certain definitions and descriptions of the Being of God,—especially as these need further explanation and accommodation to our minds now. But let none call it a mere war of words. For whoever considers how near was the question discussed to the very life of the Christian faith, how also its decision was to influence the progress of Christian doctrine, will not fail to count the struggle deeply significant. Athanasius, its foremost champion, will be seen, by such an one, a hero. His life-story will receive from such the attention it deserves.

Athanasius was born in Alexandria, that celebrated city founded by Alexander the Great, and nourished by the Ptolemies, his successors. There Eastern and Hellenic culture found a common home; and Jews and Christians alike had their far-famed schools and doctors. The year of his birth is doubtful; it was about 300. Of other famed church fathers we know the lineage and training, and of some their education by careful mothers, but nothing of this do we hear in the case of Athanasius. Thus much is known, however, that Athanasius was early devoted to the church's service. In boyish plays, which often declare the vocation of the coming man, Athanasius, it is told, person-^{He plays bishop.}ated the priest or bishop, and that with such native dignity that, having on one occasion caught the eye of bishop Alexander, he was taken in hand by him to be trained to the profession of the ministry. Though Christianity was struggling then in direct opposition to ancient paganism, it yet allowed its form of thought to be shaped largely by pagan literature. The youths that were to be the church's doctors were nourished and brought up on the classics. Thence they formed their taste, and derived their philosophy, elocution, and logic. Like the rest, Athanasius gave himself to these studies, but joined therewith the still higher study of the Holy Scriptures and the Christian fathers. He exercised himself at the same time in prayer and fasting, thus to subdue his spirit and protect himself against the temptations of the flesh and world. That he actually withdrew into the solitary life of the hermit, and had acquaintance thus with the holy Antony, whose life he afterwards wrote, cannot be declared with certainty. In the year 319 we find him already a deacon in the church's service. The youth of hardly twenty became his bishop's confidential friend, and soon after commenced his literary labors. Although now, under Constantine, paganism was repressed, it was still firmly rooted (as was proven in the reaction under Julian) in the minds of many, even of the educated. It had no lack of subtle defenders or ready champions to

wage an aggressive warfare. Christian apologetics, to which still belongs the first place in theological science, needed to keep its weapons ready at hand against such assaults. Athanasius undertook to maintain the truths of Christianity against the pagan Greeks, and while thus engaged to unfold the foundation doctrine of Christianity, the incarnation of the Logos.¹ Soon he found opportunity in the great Council at Nice to make brilliant trial, not in writing only, but in open debate, of the depth of his theological views, and his skill in setting them before others.²

There was in Alexandria a presbyter named Arius. He is described by his contemporaries as a tall, lean man, with pale face, grave expression, and bristling hair. He had a quarrel with his bishop, Alexander. The personal difficulty grew into a theological controversy through their differences of opinion on the nature of the Son, and his relation to the Father. Arius maintained that the Son was not as the Father, eternal. He was far above all other beings created by the Father, yet "there was a 'when,' a moment of time, in which the Son was not." Arius rejected, in an assembly of the clergy, the opposite views held by his bishop as Sabellianistic.³

¹ In his books, *Λόγος κατὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, and *Περὶ τῆς Ἐνανθρωπήσεως τοῦ Λόγου*.

² Nowhere had theological speculation taken bolder flights than in Alexandria, especially in her catechetical school, or seminary for Christian teachers. The great thinkers, Clement and Origen, had striven to solve those loftiest problems which Christian theology must either undertake or be content to stay in the dark on the main points of her belief. The incarnation of the Logos was a favorite theme of the day. This we find young Athanasius attempting to treat in his very first production. Then another question rose: what the Logos was, and what his relations to God the Father, the increate, eternal, invisible, and unchangeable. Was he a second, inferior God? By such teaching God's unity would be destroyed, and Monotheism would be displaced by a new Polytheism. Or was he only to be thought of as a power dwelling in God, and emanating at an appointed time from that ever-living source, an outward manifestation to the visible world of the everlasting God? Christian belief could not be satisfied with this either. Christ's own utterances in reference to his eternal existence with the Father compel the acceptance of a personal being. The necessary conclusion was that there was a difference between Father and Son, not in mere name, but inherent in God's own nature. Between these two extremes — the one separating the Son from the Father, which involved the idea of inferiority, the other uniting them without distinction in one being — the church sought an expression that should declare both identity in essence and difference in persons. This was not compassed without a hard struggle. Already the opinion of Sabellius of Ptolemais, that the persons in the Godhead were to be understood as mere names by which He revealed Himself, and a similar idea of Paul of Samosata, were both condemned as untenable in a synod held at Antioch, A. D. 269. Meanwhile the disciples of Origen, especially bishop Dionysius of Alexandria, kept fast hold of the difference of persons, but now even this orthodox acceptance of a distinction between the Father and Son took a heretical direction. The distinction was made not only to include a subordination of the Son to the Father, as was held before by Origen and Dionysius, but also to threaten the lowering of the Son to a mere creature, the depriving Him of his right as Son in the Godhead, allowing it to Him only in a figurative sense. This opinion was held by Arius.

³ Arius, let it be noted, did not consider Jesus a mere man, the son of Joseph and Mary, as did the Ebionites at a very early date, or as did Artemon and Theodotus in the second century. He taught the existence of Christ before the world, as the Logos, with the Father before the Incarnation; he did not deny that through the Logos God created all other beings; that this first-born of creatures was far above all other creatures. He had no hesitation in calling him "God" in a certain sense, a figurative limited sense, as others before him had done, using the expression, a "Second God." He thus deemed the Logos, or Son of God, a kind of intervening existence between God and the world. He shook thus the monotheistic foundation of Christianity by placing a second God, or shadowy Under-God, by the side of the one true God. He cut the very nerve of Christianity, denying its chief mystery, the incarnation of the Logos as a real, essential entering of God into man's nature.

Bishop Alexander excluded Arius, provisionally, from the church's communion, and informed the bishops of the East of this step, in a circular letter. Arius, too, bestirred himself; he also sought to win the bishops of the East. One of them, Eusebius of Nicomedia, attempted to make peace between Arius and his bishop. Arius agreed to tone down his expression. Then the emperor Constantine, imperfectly informed of the merits of the struggle, did what he could to bring the combatants to terms. For, though such discussions might exercise the sagacity of the learned, they brought small blessing to the life of the church at large. But in Egypt the excitement had already gone too far to be easily calmed. The emperor was obliged, for a final adjustment of the strife, to call a general assembly of the church, the first of the Ecumenical Councils, to meet in Nice, in the spring of 325. Three hundred and eighteen bishops attended. After Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Eusebius of Cesarea, had in vain attempted a Confession of Faith, the former one with a somewhat Arian sound, the latter one expressed in Scriptural language, there came to the front the still youthful deacon, Athanasius. Through his clear-cut definitions that could not be misunderstood, he decided the day, and exercised the greatest influence upon the formation of the Nicene Creed, in which the sameness of essence of Father and Son was made the watchword of the church.¹ From that day Athanasius enters the history of the Arian conflict, and indeed becomes its very centre.

Leader at Nice.

The victory seemed decided for orthodoxy, when the synod had passed sentence of condemnation against Arius and his adherents. A strong court party, however, succeeded in winning over the emperor's sister, and through her changed the views of the emperor. Meantime Athanasius, upon the death of Alexander, soon after that, was made the bishop of Alexandria. The diocese included all Lower Egypt, Libya, Pentapolis, and the seven districts of the Upper and Lower Thebaid. Not long after his installation, he had to consecrate Frumentius as bishop of Ethiopia. Everywhere a wide field of activity opened before him. But peaceful labor for the building of the church's inner life was not to be thought of. The Arians allowed him no rest. They induced that same Constantine who had commanded to consume with fire the writings of Arius, like those of Porphyry, now to recall him from his exile in Illyria. Arius, to quiet the believing, had meanwhile handed in a creed couched in general terms. Athanasius was given to understand that he must receive the excommunicated again into the church. This he resisted to the utmost, preferring to bring upon himself the emperor's utter displeasure. Enraged at his resistance, the enemies of the bishop employed all the arts of intrigue which they could command. They de-

¹ The terms used are, "The Son is eternally begotten of the Father, not created, Light of Light, very God of very God, of one substance (*ὁμοουσιος*) with the Father; by Him are all things made."

nounced Athanasius as an enemy of the emperor, as a disturber of the peace, a violent man, that made use of his office to oppress others. The most extraordinary stories were industriously circulated. For a long time the accused kept his slanderers at bay. At last his opponents, made up not only of Arians, but of all classes, combined to the bishop's overthrow.

The chief blow was dealt by a synod held at Tyre, ten years after the Synod of Nice (335). There a party had the upper hand, who, without espousing the Arian error, yet decidedly opposed the Athanasian doctrine, and especially the expression "homousios" — of same essence. They were also unfavorably disposed to Athanasius personally. From their leaders, Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Eusebius of Cesarea, they had the name of the Eusebian party. Later they were known as the Semi-Arians, or Half-Arians. Others, pure Arians and Meletians, united with them for the overthrow of the man they all disliked. Among the accusations trumped up against him, there was one intended especially to excite the emperor, namely, that Athanasius hindered the export of grain from Alexandria to Constantinople. In vain Athanasius showed the

First exile. falsehood of this, and of the other charges. After he had been condemned by the synod, he was sent, by command of the emperor, as an exile to Trier. There he received, at the hands of Prince Constantine and bishop Maximus, a becoming reception. Meanwhile Arius, recalled from exile, was to be received again — a synod at Jerusalem having decreed his reception — into church-fellowship, and that at Constantinople. But the day before, Arius died very suddenly. We cannot censure Athanasius if he saw in it a judgment of God.¹ Others ascribed it to witchcraft or to poison. Soon after came the death of Constantine. Under his sons, Constantius in the East, and Constans in the West, the strife went on. Indeed, it now assumed an alarming aspect. What at first was only a personal quarrel, became in time a general dispute between the churches of the East and West. The measures of the emperor only served to heighten the party strife. The sons of Constantine (Constantine II. being still alive), immediately upon their entrance into power, recalled all the banished bishops. Constantine II. did himself the honor of recalling Athanasius. After more than two years' exile, the latter returned to his former office, to the extravagant joy of the people of Alexandria. Yet the waves of the church commotion ran so high that there was no hope of safe anchorage for any long time. Constantius, now sole ruler in the East, too easily changed his mind, listening to the complaints, old and new, constantly urged against Athanasius by the hostilely disposed party of the Eusebians. It was not a good omen when the orthodox bishop, Paul, of Constantino-

¹ The bishop of Constantinople, Alexander, forced by the emperor to receive Arius into the church's communion, had, it is said, prayed God to help him out of his distress, which prayer was answered by Arius's sudden death.

ple, was deposed, and Eusebius of Nicomedia installed in his stead. The second removal of Athanasius was soon arranged, and was accomplished by the Synod of Antioch (341). The law was then passed that no deposed bishop could ever be restored. In vain Athanasius disputed the legality of the Synod of Tyre, which had deposed him. His opponents could see nothing illegal in it. Athanasius was forcibly ejected from office. Gregory of Cappadocia, elected bishop by the Antioch Synod, was forcibly installed in his place. When the intruder, accompanied by his countryman Philagrius, the governor, entered one of the churches of Alexandria, on Good Friday, a tumult was excited, but was quickly quelled. On the Easter following, an attempt was made on the life of Athanasius. He, however, escaped the plot; and after solemnly protesting, in a circular letter sent from near Alexandria, against the injustice done him, took refuge with bishop Julius, in Rome. Here such reception was given him as compensated him for the ^{Second exile.} contumely heaped upon him. To western Christendom he seemed a man persecuted for the faith, — he was a martyr. A synod of some fifty bishops pronounced decidedly in his favor. Meantime the chief of his opponents, Eusebius of Nicomedia, then bishop of Constantinople, was dead, but without affecting the fortunes of Athanasius; not till six years after, at a synod held at Sardica, in Illyria, composed mostly of western bishops, was there full justice done him. (Those on the Arian side absented themselves from Sardica, and held a separate assembly in Philipopolis.) The Nicene doctrine was declared the true one, Arianism rejected, and Athanasius acknowledged as lawful bishop of Alexandria. The emperor Constantine came forward and invited him to take possession of his office. Athanasius, who was then in Aquileia, obeyed the summons. Taking leave of his friends, he turned toward Constantinople, the residence of the emperor. The latter gave him a friendly reception, and commended him in an autograph letter to the civil and ecclesiastical rulers. In it he termed Athanasius a man of God, signally supported of the Most High in all his trials, and known to all for his orthodox faith and correct course of life. Athanasius's journey was like a triumphal procession; his reception in Alexandria was a solemn ovation. Nor had he passed the ten years in the West to no purpose. They were among the most fruitful of his life. His presence there served to strengthen the faithful, and to establish them in the doctrine of the church. In another way he did effective work, a way more foreign to our religious views than are even the debates of these times. He awakened in the West the liking for monasticism, for a life of solitude and penance. This he did largely through the biography he wrote of Antony, the father of monks and hermits. Besides, he took two monks with him who planted this mode of life, begotten under eastern skies, upon the western shores, there to develop itself in after times to a wide-extending system.

Athanasius was left undisturbed in his ministry in Alexandria for but a short time. He had hardly spent two years exercising his office with watchfulness and zeal, when the death of Constans, the western emperor (350), brought with it a new tempest. His murderer, Magnentius, stirred a portion of the East to insurrection. Athanasius firmly remained loyal to Constantius. None the less, he was charged by his foes with a secret understanding with the usurper. The troubles of the times were used by them to effect the overthrow of the orthodox power. The Arians were bolder than ever. The synods of Arles (353) and of Milan (355) condemned Athanasius anew. Their rage was not against him only, but against the whole orthodox party. Eusebius of Vercelli, Hilarius of Poitiers, and Hosius of Cordova, a man more than an hundred years old, were made victims. Even Liberius, the bishop of Rome, the successor of Julius, was banished to Berona in Thrace. As for Athanasius, they fell upon him suddenly in the church, while officiating on the eve of a holy day. The church was surrounded by troops under the imperial general Syrian, a detachment penetrating into the sanctuary. Athanasius, seating himself in his bishop's chair, ordered the deacon to sing the one hundred and thirty-sixth psalm. The whole congregation took up the refrain, "His mercy endureth forever." Having dismissed the people, he would have given himself up to the troops as a prisoner, when some of his clergy and monks came back and by main force carried him with them, before the soldiers were aware. This was received by Athanasius as the saving arm of the Lord. He withdrew into the Egyptian desert, and there passed his third exile.

Third exile.

He published thence a reply to the accusations of his enemies. He sent to the bishops of his province a letter warning them against the poison of Arianism. He had more need to do this, as Arianism was making giant strides; as Athanasius declared, "a monster of wickedness gone abroad over the whole earth." The exile employed his solitude and enforced leisure in composing several great works against the Arians, four in particular that are especially renowned. He thus prepared the spiritual weapons in which he trusted; albeit such resistance was despised by the overwhelming material power of the other party. At the synods of Rimini and Seleucia (359), Arianism celebrated new victories. In human judgment, the hour of its undisputed sway had now come. But already the decree was gone forth: "Thus far and no farther." Arianism carried in itself the seeds of its dissolution. Its own counsels were divided. From the start, as has been seen, a middle party existed under the name of the Eusebians, who shared in the Arian dislike of Athanasius but not their hatred of his creed. These diversities were kept out of sight during the heat of the combat. The pure Arians went under the colors of the half-way party. When victory was secured, they came out with their bold negation, which they expressed in the

formula: The Son is in substance unlike the Father. This the moderate party would not adopt, for while they also denied the equality of substance they maintained firmly that the Son was in all respects like the Father. In the course of the struggle, which cannot here be followed out in detail, the half-Arians, as they were called, approached the Nicenes. The pure Arians found themselves losing ground. While the conflict was swaying to and fro, Constantius died (361), leaving his kingdom and church in a very unsettled condition. When Julian assumed power (361) he recalled the banished bishops, one and all, and so Athanasius once more resumed his office. Julian was not interested in favoring one party more than another. His evil designs against Christianity were helped by the disunion of Christians. Hence he was pleased by nothing so much as by the factions destroying one another, and so proving the weakness of the Christian faith. Still an emperor whose chief policy was the extermination of Christianity could not long let go undisturbed such a man as Athanasius. Sooner or later the two must come into sharp conflict.

Meanwhile Athanasius was using his respite, as long as it lasted, for the establishing of peace. In the battle he had proven himself inflexible against error. Now when the erring returned repenting, he was ready to welcome them to the fold. Those who had been seduced by others were treated with especial forbearance, and their return to their membership or office-bearing in the church made as easy as possible. To assist this end he assembled the Synod of Alexandria (362). This moderation, though condemned by bigots, was the best way to secure in the end the victory to the right. The characteristic of Athanasius was not, as some charge, arrogance of opinion, but firm adherence to known truth, with sincere desire to see the unity of faith attained through the bond of peace. His high aim, constantly followed, was no outward, dead orthodoxy. His was a faith wrought in his profound convictions. For it he was ready to fight and to suffer. The zeal for Christ with which he opposed the pagan reaction, under Julian, did not go unnoticed. He was dreaded by Julian, especially for his influence upon pagan women, a number of whom he had baptized. He was therefore sent Fourth and fifth exiles. by him again into banishment, — the fourth time in his life!

It was for only a little while. Julian falling (362) in the war against the Persians, Athanasius was recalled by Jovian. When, under Valens, the Arians rose to power once more, the much-tried hero was for the fifth time sentenced to the fate of the exile. For more than four months he found a hiding-place in his father's tomb. Then the people vehemently demanding his return, the emperor, to prevent an insurrection, granted their wishes. Athanasius was allowed to live the rest of his years in quiet possession of his office, seeking the spiritual welfare of the church. His strength continued to advanced old age. Its mettle was

only improved by conflicts and trouble. He died in the year 373, first recommending his faithful comrade, the presbyter Peter, as his successor. Whatever idea we form of the man, or of the combat in which he was the foremost champion, who will say other than that he was a hero? But do not expect the heroic in his outer appearance. Athanasius was of small stature, with body wasted by fasts and vigils. Yet there was in him something great, that could sway the mighty men of his age, among them the Roman emperors, who opposed him. His mind is mirrored in his history and his books. He has been accused of pride, harshness, and stubbornness. But are not these erroneous designations of his firmness of character and fervor of faith? Certain it is that in that breast of iron, which he ever offered to the enemies of truth, he hid a royal measure of love to that flock which he led, and to the whole church of Christ. For them he was ever praying. He sought nothing for himself. Granting that he failed at times, in judging men and their motives, in choosing means to teach and promote the truth; that he laid greater stress upon the exact definitions of doctrine than the Christian faith requires, — though not greater than seemed to him and his age necessary, — who, for this, will condemn him?

There is not to be expected here a list or review of his writings. Let it be noted, however, that the church creed that bears his name, the *Symbolum Athanasium*, beginning with the words "*Quicumque vult salvus esse,*" etc., and which, along with the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene, is counted an ecumenical confession of faith, was neither made by him nor in his age, but at least two hundred years afterwards, in the church of the West. — K. R. H.

LIFE XV. ULFILAS.

A. D. 318—A. D. 388. IN THE EAST, — ON THE DANUBE.

WHEN Alaric, king of the Goths, entered Rome the third time (410), he spared the Eternal City to the utmost of his power; he granted to heathens and Christians secure refuge in the remaining churches, those, especially, of Peter and Paul. The gentleness of the so-called barbarian in this conquest is praised by the holy Augustine in his strongest terms.

By other historians the submission of the German victors to Christianity, then still in her youth, is recorded in marvelous stories, some of which we must repeat. During the inevitable plundering of the city, one of Alaric's Goths met a Christian maiden, and without harming her, demanded of her gold and silver. She brought him vessels of surprising beauty. He, amazed, asked where she had

Goths as
Christians.

found them. The moment she said that they were taken from St. Peter's, he ran to his master and king, to tell what had happened. Immediately Alaric caused the return of the vessels to the church, his own people guarding and bearing them, while around gathered ever-increasing throngs of Goths and Romans, Christians and Pagans, singing songs of triumph. Widows and orphans were, by others, conducted safely to St. Paul's. Of a wild Goth, it is told, that when he had offered violence to a beautiful woman, as she presented her already wounded neck for the fatal stroke, he, honoring her chastity, led her himself to Peter's church, committed her to the warden, and laid down six gold pieces for her support.¹ How did these Northmen attain to the depth of reverence thus shown by them to a new faith, so that, as we shall find, they were ready to die for it? They were not easily turned, we know, from their demigods and ancestors. Did not Duke Radbod, of Frisia, in the time of Charles the Great, when he had already put his foot into the deep laver, withdraw it, as in answer to the question whether he would find his fathers in the land to which he was going, he received the harsh reply that they must all abide in hell, declaring: "I will wait and go with the rest, where my fathers are, but not to Hela, where cowards and idlers alone have to go, but to Woden, who welcomes the brave to new battle-grounds in Walhalla"? Who wrought among the Gothic races, Vandals, Gepidæ, and others, such early and swift change of belief that now their kings, before battle, knelt in prayer, and from prayer arose to the fight? that their people carried with them tent-churches over their rough roads, bore the Holy Scriptures with them into battle, administered oaths to those they conquered, on the Gospels, and kept such oaths most sacred?

One man had, humanly speaking, done it all. He had given his people the Scriptures in their own tongue. He had for forty years, as a true shepherd, cared for the civilizing, training, and edifying of his Goths; by word and pen, by sermon and treatise of every kind, in their own language, and even by works in Latin and Greek, for the sake of securing a recognition of their Christianity from other nations. This man was Ulfilas. His name, thus written by the Greeks,

¹ When the western Goths took Bordeaux, they are said to have spared, in every way, their female captives. When Totilas, a leader and king of the Ostro Goths, possessed himself, by a night attack, of the famished city of Rome (546), he bade that the women be protected above all, and through the whole night sounded the Gothic war-horn, that the citizens might hide themselves, or seek shelter in the churches. This spirit of gentleness and humanity was breathed upon the provoked barbarians by their lofty faith in Christ, pagans as they were a few years before. The brotherly kindness of the Vandals is celebrated by even the Romans. This gift God gave to a new people, a race with many branches, but with one mother-tongue, one living trust in God, one heroic tradition, one code of morals and sense of right. They had lived a unit on the shores of the Baltic when the people on the Mediterranean, diverse in race and feeling, were but half blended, or merely forced together by Roman power and Roman baptism of blood. Another endowment of those blonde, blue-eyed sons of the north must be named, the same that Salvianus, a presbyter of Marseilles, but a native of Trier or Cologne, dwells on, — their exceeding chastity. So marked was it, that the much abused Vandals, before they had fairly conquered Africa, cleansed it of all vileness, compelling all lewd men and lewd women to marry.

who could not pronounce the German W, was rather Wulfila; a word that is found in Gothic history also as the name of a chief, and resembles Wulfgang, Wulfhard, or Wulfstein.

The image of this man shines benignly from out the tempest of revolution. In his seventy years of life, he pursued constantly one aim. He preached eternal salvation to his warrior people. He urgently and sincerely pressed it upon them. He was also at pains to be a peacemaker in earthly matters, mediating for them in days of need, on the eve of some bloody struggle with their imperial foe. He grew to be so revered by his grateful Goths, that they were wont to say of their bishop, "What Ulfilas does is good; it must tend to our saving; Ulfilas can do nothing bad." Even their violent foe, the emperor Valens, esteemed him so that he called him the Moses of his people, as the one that led them away from persecution into the quiet forest vales of Hæmus, and prepared there a new people for the Lord.¹ Through a happy concurrence of events there has lately come to us new information respecting Ulfilas. It is from one of his most intimate and devoted disciples, who was instructed and trained by him from his youth in the doctrines of salvation. This chiefly is to be extracted from it, that Ulfilas rejected each and all of the sects then existing.² He kept them away from his flock, as a true shepherd keeps the wolves and the dogs. He pronounced every schism a *synagogue of Satan*. He maintained one undivided, true church of Christ; one virgin, bride and queen; one vineyard and house of the Lord. In this conviction he left his people a creed which his pupil, Auxentius, afterwards bishop of Dorostorum (the present Silistria), has preserved. In its beginning Ulfilas expressly affirms that he had so believed and taught throughout his life.³ This creed is literally as follows:—

"I, Wulfila, bishop and confessor, have ever believed thus, and before my God and Lord do confess this true and only
 Creed of Ulfilas. faith.

"I believe in one only unborn and invisible (or indivisible) God, the Father, and in his only begotten Son, one Lord and God, the Creator of all creatures, to whom none is like, but He is God over all and over ours;

¹ How Christianity reached the Goths first is hardly known. Through them were reached their kinsmen, the Gepidæ, Heruli, Vandals, Longobards, and Burgundians. It was the Arian form, making the Son of different essence from the Father; a creature, though in the Father's image. This belief swayed these tribes almost till they disappeared from history. They were hence counted excommunicate by both Greek and Latin churches. From their own point of view, however, they were as entirely justified as the former in holding their creed as the only true one; their church, as the only orthodox, all the while standing strictly by Scripture as interpreted by Arius.

² As Manicheans, Marcionites, Montanists, Paulicians, Sabellians, Anthropomorphites, Patripassians, Photinians, Donatists, Macedonians, etc.

³ He possibly wished to meet, by this declaration, the charges circulated, especially that Ulfilas and his Goths had been first led into Arianism by the emperor Valens, when he gave them a place of residence. The passions of those times introduced this story even into the Greek church-histories of these troubles. They even relate that Ulfilas let himself be seduced by the courtier Eudoxius, not only by the latter presenting the doctrinal differences as insignificant, but by his giving a bribe.

and in the Holy Spirit, the power which enlightens and sanctifies (Luke xxiv. 49; Acts i. 8), who himself is neither God nor Lord, but a servant of Christ, subject and obedient to the Son in all things, as the Son is subject and obedient in all things to the Father, the Blessed forever."¹

Until his thirtieth year (348) Ulfilas was a "lector" or reader to his people.² He was then made bishop of the Goths by Constantius, son and successor of Constantine the Great, and a supporter of the Arians. In this office he enjoyed seven years of activity, transforming his people, and converting many, even among the Goths of Athanarich, a chief who had long been hostile to Fritigern, the leader of the Visigoths. The former began a persecution of the Christian Goths. Many of them, both men and women, endured with steadfastness a martyr's death. Ulfilas then led them, by leave of the emperor, into Roman territory, to Mosien, in the valleys of the Hæmus mountains (not far from Nikopolis, now Nicoli). There they abode under the name of Little Goths, seeking a living from their forests and meadows, by keeping cattle and raising a little grain. Ulfilas dwelt among them as their bishop and pastor for thirty-three years.³ As such he attended the church council in Constantinople

¹ This confession puts no interpretation upon disputed Scripture passages, neither does the Bible translation that has come to us from Ulfilas. In such places as Rom. ix. 5, 1 Tim. iii. 16, and Phil. ii. 6, there is no dragging in of Arian coloring. The last suspicion vanishes in the last-named passage, upon a correct interpretation (Massman's *Ulfilas*, 1856).

² In the year 258, under the emperors Valerian and Galerius, the great invasions of the Goths occurred, when they penetrated even to Galatia and Cappadocia. Many Christians, and especially many ministers, are said to have been taken away by them as captives. Their reverend appearance, and especially their healing the sick and driving out devils by naming the name of Christ, made, it is told, a deep impression on the simple, unprejudiced minds of the Goths. Among these prisoners it is thought were the forefathers of Ulfilas, from the Cappadocian Sadagoltina, in the vicinity of the city of Parnassus. The above-mentioned bishop Auxentius has recorded that his honored teacher died in Constantinople in his seventieth year, and in the year 388 after Christ, and that he was buried by the bishops in attendance, and the people, with great honor. According to this date, Ulfilas must have been born in the year 318, half a century after his forefathers came to the Goths from Cappadocia.

³ [To this period we ascribe his Bible. Ed.] It is agreed by all church historians that Ulfilas translated the Bible from the Greek. They add that he left the books of the Kings untranslated, for fear of making his warrior people still fonder of war. There are some evidences, however, that he translated the books of the Maccabees, which are still more warlike. In 1563 there rose the first rumors, traces, and proofs of the existence, no one knew whence, in the Abbey of Werden, on the Ruhr, of a splendid manuscript of the Four Gospels in the Gothic tongue, written in letters of gold and silver. After many vicissitudes, on the storming of the Hradschin, in Prague, by the Swedes (1648), a little before the conclusion of the Thirty Years' War, it was carried away from the treasures of the Emperor Rudolf, as a good prize, to Stockholm. Later, Queen Christina, in the year 1669, gave the manuscript to Upsala. The Four Gospels in it were originally arranged, according to the old church tradition and custom, in this order: Matthew, John, Luke, and Mark, as is shown by the loss of the leaves or sheets at the beginning or end of the first and last-named Gospels. From 1563 till 1599, when the manuscript was already in Prague, and again from 1648 till 1830, it has evidently sustained new injuries, so that of the original three hundred and eighty leaves, only one hundred and seventy-seven remain, an irrecoverable loss to the scientific knowledge of our mother tongue, as well as to comparative philology. The manuscript is written with conscientious care (though not without errors in writing, omission of lines, etc.), with silver letters throughout, and in the beginning of paragraphs with gold letters upon purple parchment. Similar silver and gold manuscripts (also silver on black parchment), of the Holy Scriptures in particular, are still in existence in other places (Rome, Florence, Munich, Strassburg, Paris, etc.).

More than a century since (1756), the Abbot Knittel discovered in the library of Wolfenbützel fragments of a Gothic translation of the Epistle to the Romans. They are in a

(360), and gave assent to the creed framed the year before at Ariminia or Rimini.

Meanwhile Athanarich, immediately after his war with the emperor Valens (370), began a second persecution of the Christian people of Fritigern. Many were scattered beyond the Danube and as far as the Euphrates. There has come down to us a fragment of a Gothic martyrology in which, as also in the "Lives of the Saints," is preserved the memory of the burning of many Christians in a tent-church, and with the rest, the presbyters Batwin and Vereka, and no less than forty maidens, all at Berea; also of the holy Saba and the presbyters Gudila and Sansala, the last drowned in a river when thirty-two years old (371), and meeting his death with the greatest joy. Athanarich had required that they eat pagan meats, and pray to the idol which was brought on a wagon, pagan fashion, to the Christian tents. Every one who refused this was burnt alive in his tent-house.

Fritigern, thus kept in constant warfare by Athanarich, had meanwhile become a Christian, and strengthened himself by the aid of the Christian Goths. But all their relations were suddenly overturned by

manuscript evidently coming from Italy, and in the eighth century rubbed with pumice, and again written over. A Latin translation is written alongside. Conjecture was expressed that these fragments belonged to one and the same translation as the Gospels of Werden. Greater certainty of this was obtained when, finally, in the year 1817, the former Abbot Angelo Mai, at Milan, who died afterwards at Rome, a cardinal, examined carefully in the Milan Library a number of manuscripts from the neighboring convent of Bobbio, similarly rubbed with pumice, and again written over, and in the underlying, often very obscure characters, recognized by certain proofs the translations of almost the entire Pauline writings, as also more notable fragments of the Old Testament (Ezra and Nehemiah). This surprising, and, for us, highly gratifying discovery, gradually (1817-1835) made by the Count L. O. Castiglioni, of Milan, was of greater importance, in that not only the Epistle to the Romans, supplied in part by the Wolfenbüttel fragments, appeared in translations quite the same, but that several of Paul's Epistles, and the principal ones, appeared preserved in the double manuscripts.

Through these genuine fragments of the Old Testament, as well as through evidence since obtained, the assertion of the Greek church historians has been confirmed, that the Goths possessed the entire Scripture in their own tongue. The further fact is declared that we have to do with one and the same translation. The supposition has been expressed before that this is the very translation which the historians unanimously ascribe to Ulfilas. Beside the Pauline writings, there are found in the Milan and Roman sheets some obscured fragments of a lengthy Arian exposition of John's Gospel in Gothic, with attacks on the heretical assertions of Sabellius and Marcellus interspersed. These leaves the author read on the spot, in the year 1833, and published in Munich in 1834. The verses of the Gospel of John, part new, part repetitions, confirm the main fact that we have to do with one and the same text of the Gothic translation.

As respects the importance and value of this Ulfilian translation to the understanding of the original; the leading judges and linguists have already sufficiently credited the Gothic bishop with conscientious fidelity to both the Greek original and his own mother tongue. Hence the Gothic Scriptures, in not only a few instances, but throughout, are suited to present a truer reflection of the Greek Bible text, at least as it appeared in the middle of the fourth century, than the Egyptian, Greek, or Latin versions, while some of them are older. Only as the author, well acquainted with the three chief languages of his day, is obliged to do so, by the object which he carefully keeps in mind and executes, does he deviate in arrangement of words and turning of sentences from the arrangement of the Greek text, and then in transparent manner. His conscientiousness in his work is supported by the reading of at least one Greek manuscript, and thus contributes to support the Greek original. After all these facts, resting on the most careful weighing of details, may not the supposition be made, that with proper assistance from other translations and aids, these might be restored from the Gothic translations of Ulfilas a Greek text, such as may have been found in the majority of the best manuscripts in the latter half of the fourth century in the church of Byzantium, or in the East?

the Huns coming from over the Volga, first upon the Alani, then overwhelming the great Ostro-Gothic realm of king Ermanrich. The east Goths went west. Athanarich and his Visigoths (or west Goths) withdrew into inaccessible highlands. Fritigern, with a new grant from the emperor Valens, led the great mass of his Visigoths, two hundred thousand bearing arms, across the Danube into Thrace and Dacia, where lands and means of support were given them. Ulfilas went with them, and found a more extended and less disturbed field. Soon, however, the Goths, aroused by the avarice and treachery of their Roman governors, began destructive forays. Valens felt obliged to meet them. When he was hurrying impatiently to the battle-field by Adrianople, he was met by Fritigern's ambassador, a trusted Christian priest (who but Ulfilas), sent to secure from the emperor permanent homes for his people in Thrace, and a firm treaty. Valens received the bishop, whom he knew well and honored greatly, with all respect, but refused the requests of the Goths, and began battle the next morning (August 9, 378). Fritigern once more proffered peace. The battle lasted the day through. At nightfall the emperor was struck by a hostile arrow, and had to be carried into a hut. There he and all his retinue were burned up together by the Gothic victors. It was a penalty, said the church historian, for the sending by the Arians of so many souls to everlasting fire. The Goths, after defeating their enemy, ravaged the Greek empire to the very walls of Constantinople.

While these dreadful scenes were passing, Theodosius, the successor of Valens, when sick in Thessalonica, became a Christian, embracing the Nicene confession. He gave orders that the Arians should give up the churches hitherto held by them, and in a general council (381) proclaimed the orthodox creed. The disquiet which ensued compelled him to call another council (383). In that, also, the Arians met defeat.

The gray-haired bishop of the Goths then set out (388) with his pupils, Auxentius, Palladius, and others, to go once more to Constantinople, and ask a decision by a third council. The emperor promised it, but was won over by the Nicenes, and revoked his promise by a decree (June 16th) when marching against Maximin. He forbade all further disputes on doctrine, by preaching, or otherwise. The Arians of the capital, misled by a false report that the emperor was slain, destroyed the house of the orthodox bishop, Nectarius, as by an imperial order. The emperor, now, by a new decree from the field, forbade altogether the proposed council.

Ultilas, breaking his heart in his grief over this, sickened and died in the middle of the year 388, in his seventieth year, at the capital of the Greek empire. There the king of the Visigoths died before him. The bishops in the city and many people followed the universally honored man to his well-earned resting-place.

Death in Constantinople.

They raised no monument to his memory. He himself had prepared one in his own lifetime. His translation of the Bible remains, though in a marred form, a memorial outlasting all the destroying centuries. — H. F. M.

LIFE XVI. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.

A. D. 347—A. D. 407. IN THE EAST, — CONSTANTINOPLE.

FOR fifteen centuries Christendom has done homage to a name which shines, at least to Eastern eyes, with an almost apostolic radiance. The name is of one of the two gifted men whom the Lord vouchsafed his church soon after that fatal moment when, unfurling her banner beneath the protection of the secular arm, she entered on her perilous career as a state church. Of those world-illuminating beacons, the one rose in the West in Aurelius Augustine; the other in the East, in him who was crowned by enthusiastic Christendom with the title of Chrysostom, that is, Golden Lips.

After the church had prospered in warding off heresies and establishing Scriptural doctrines in the councils of Nice (325) and of Constantinople (381), the time seemed propitious for her giving more thought to the fostering and elevating of Christian life. God provided that a man should be forthcoming to give this more practical turn to church progress. Like a winged spirit he rises from amidst the grave and solemn assembly of the hewers and fashioners of dogmas. Let us observe him more closely.

In Antioch, a great trading town, a seat of Hellenic art and science, and by far the most celebrated metropolis of Syria, in the year 347, was a first-born son given the Roman general Secundus and his wife Arethusa, of noble descent. The parents, owning the banner to which they devoted themselves and their child, called him by the name John. The father did not see the heaven-favored growth of his boy, for an early death took him away. At his grave Arethusa promised: "My love to thee shall live in my son, to whom I devote my whole life." A physiognomist read on the infant's brow a stout spirit of liberty and exalted courage, and advised his mother to keep for him his father's victorious sword. But his mother, the third in a three-starred constellation, shining along with Monica and Nonna, as a bright example to Christian mothers, hoped one day to see the brow of her darling adorned with a nobler symbol, and to behold him clad in other armor than that of his imperial master. Taught by her, and very early fed on the pure milk of the Word, little John grew up, justifying her fondest hopes. When he entered his fifteenth year, he was confided by his mother, not without misgivings yet in childlike trust in God, to

the school of the celebrated rhetorician and philosopher, Libanius, a pagan indeed, but one who to independence of thought and thorough culture added the habit of a decided tolerance of Christianity. The teacher soon observed the rich gifts of the assiduous youth. His joy at the boy's remarkably rapid progress in every science was somewhat clouded when he saw in him the germs of the Christian faith already vigorously at work. Yet he indulged the hope, as he saw how his pupil hung with lively interest on every word of instruction from his lips, that he should one day lead him back to the altars of his ancestral gods; and indeed for a time the hope seemed none too rash. Enthusiasm for Grecian poets, orators, and philosophers carried away the boy, susceptible as he was, in the highest degree, to everything beautiful and good. The theatre and circus, which he visited now and again, delighted him. His efforts in declamation and oratory evinced an eloquence that delighted his master. He received encouragement from him to venture an early effort at public pleading. He attained such success in it that his genius for the forum was seen by everybody. But Studies the law. the more the promising student received the plaudits of Libanius on the path that was developing his mental faculties, the more, too, did he find his mother's earnest prayers closely attending him. Through her blessed influence, his moral strength and Christian convictions proved equal to his protection against the enticements of paganism. Not very strangely, he became utterly disgusted with the whole business of the law, after he saw the rhetorical tricks of the advocates in the very precincts of the courts, as they uttered their windy perorations, and dangled after the cheap applause of the multitude. He turned his back upon the forum, and to the great joy of his mother, who saw in it an answer to her prayer, he, with his friend and fellow-student Basilus, like-minded with himself, devoted his undivided attention to the study of the Bible and sacred subjects. Scrupulously avoiding the bustling arena of public amusement, and attending regularly upon church services, he drew the attention of the venerable bishop of Antioch, Meletius. His youthful sincerity was marked. Soon he was admitted to baptism; then, after repeated theological discussions held with the bishop, he was made by him (370) "anagnostes," or public reader of the Scriptures in the church. John would have preferred, in imitation of his friend Basilus, to join the pious monks in the mountains adjacent, whom he often visited, and never without edification. But how could he withstand the entreaties of his loved mother, who, with many tears, begged him to stay with her. "Do not make me a widow for the second time! Postpone your present intention till I am no more." Alas! to his deep sorrow, that moment was far too near! The Lord called the precious one in peace to Himself. What was there now to keep the orphan from following the long-repressed wish of his heart?

He went to the mountains, and was given by the good brothers and fathers a hearty welcome. He was happy in joining them at the first cock-crow, in prayer and singing of psalms, then betaking himself to sacred study and meditation in his quiet cell. Before the midday meal he came with the rest to Bible reading and profitable conversation. In the afternoon he went with them into the garden or field to plant or plow for the needy, or else visited these in their huts, carrying religious consolation. Monastic life was at that time a noble ideality, not yet tainted by Pharisaic sanctimoniousness. Six favored and happy years did John pass in his well-loved mountains, the last two in a dark grotto. There his health received such injury that he did not venture, when Meletius called him to become a deacon in the church of Antioch, to refuse. He returned to the city, deeply imbued with Bible knowledge, and enriched in his inner life. His office not admitting of his preaching, he devoted himself, heart and soul, to the sick and poor. As he had done when in the mountains, he here also presented the community of the faithful with many a spiritual and persuasive book. In particular he finished that excellent work of his "Upon the Priesthood." But it was after the death of Meletius (386), when the new bishop, Flavian, made him a presbyter, that he first entered a sphere in which he could reveal, in fullest degree, the endowments of his mind and heart.

His very first sermons produced a marvelous effect. People said such powerful, such convincing preaching had never before been heard. Notwithstanding his repeated requests that they would leave off such pagan practices, he was once and again interrupted in his burning eloquence by loud and stormy manifestations of approval. And indeed his rhetoric, with all the enlightenment shed on it by the gospel, had in it a strong flavor of Greek culture and an Attic elegance, reminding one of the eloquence of a Demosthenes, rather than the simple form of speech of the apostles and evangelists. But the chief power of his sermons lay, not in choice of language, nor turning of sentences, nor originality of simile and metaphor, but in their fullness of thought and striking argument, in their noble spontaneity, as of classic days, in their adaptation, and in the fresh, buoyant, nervous style of delivery, like a stream that has burst through its rocky barrier, gushing forth from the very depths of his heart. "I speak," he says of himself, "as the fountains bubble, and still continue to bubble, though none will come to draw. I preach as the rivers flow, — the same, though no one drink of their flood of waters."

He had no sooner entered on his office of presbyter than his faith and his care of his flock were put to a severe test. In the year 387 there was a terrible insurrection in Antioch, on the occasion of the emperor's imposing a new tax. The mob smashed the street lanterns, seized on the

public buildings, and threw down the emperor's statues and those of the imperial family, with contemptuous speeches and derisive songs. Thus they gave the outbreak the character of high treason. The tumult was soon allayed by a legion of soldiers marching up, bearing down innocent and guilty alike. At this juncture, Chrysostom appeared clad in the full armor of the Holy Spirit, and by his eloquence and power subdued the hardest hearts. His twenty-one famous homilies "On the Statues," or sermons on punishment, repentance, and consolation, rolled like heavy peals of thunder with falling lightning, flash on flash, over the thousands fiercely thronging around his pulpit; or sometimes like the refreshing morning-dew, trickling down into the hearts of the alarmed and contrite multitude. "The sea is roaring!" he cried; "only press in hither. Day and night the motherly embrace of the church is open to receive repentant sinners. God looks down upon you graciously when you humble yourselves before Him, and will save you from all further evil!" This positive assurance, uttered with great certainty, was, against all expectation, literally fulfilled. The people were fearing the worst from the anger of the emperor Theodosius. They had induced the old bishop, Flavian, to go to Constantinople and entreat for pardon in person. He came back, bringing news that surprised the city, and filled it with loud rejoicings. The emperor, to his humble supplication, had returned the magnanimous answer, "Is it a great thing, that we mortals should subdue the anger we feel towards our fellow-men, when our Lord, out of love to us sinners, took upon Himself the form of a servant, and even prayed for his murderers? How can I do otherwise than pardon the Antiochians, who are my fellow-servants?" Chrysostom had prophesied. We may imagine how greatly the result magnified the popular esteem in which he was held.

The pious resolves of the people failed, many of them, under the pressure of those grievous times, to ripen into deed. We often hear our orator, in subsequent sermons, bitterly complaining that the old watchword, "Bread and public games," was again heard; ^{Influence in Antioch.} that God and the world divided their hearts, the church and the theatre shared their interest; that his exhortations to lead a holy life were repulsed by the miserable pretext that the same things could not be expected from the laity as from the monks and clergy; and that the women, especially, instead of earnestly pursuing Christianity, only toyed and trifled with it, presenting each other with beautifully written and splendidly bound *Evangelists*, never thinking, though, of regulating their lives by their precepts, but merely placing them on their tables as ornaments, or superstitiously hanging them as amulets upon their girdles. Yet the longer Chrysostom was in the church of Antioch, the brighter did its light shine among the churches of the age. He would have spent his days there, joyfully, if, in the plans of the Invisible Warder, he had not been destined to still greater undertakings.

In the year 397 occurred the death of the bishop of Constantinople. The eunuch Eutropius, raised by flattery and intrigue to be the favorite of the emperor Arcadius, upon a business journey to Antioch, heard Chrysostom preach. So carried away was he by his brilliant eloquence, that on his return to the capital he made all haste to advise his imperial master to nominate him to the vacant office. The nomination forthwith occurred, but in the form of a command, leaving Chrysostom no choice. He had to get away from Antioch secretly, for the city, clinging to him with enthusiasm, would on no consideration have given him up. In tears he tore himself from a congregation which approached the ideal of a family, whose head was Christ. He was received in Constantinople, whither Arcadius summoned a great number of eminent bishops to give him welcome, with every mark of honor, and even with pomp. Yet he was soon aware that here he stood on ground very different from that he had of late so happily occupied. Equally soon did a great part of the worldly clergy discover, from his apostolic bearing, and the dignity marking his demeanor, that there was no chance of his proving, like his predecessors, a sensual seeker after pleasures.

Chrysostom was solemnly installed in office the 26th of February, 398.

Constantinople was quite a Christian town, if an orthodox confession of faith, and a belonging to the church, could give a right to bear the title. But the life of the Constantinopolitans, given up wholly to amusement, so little corresponded with their boasted purity of faith, that the bishop was convinced his work was to be that of reformer of morals. He began, then, by explaining to the clergy under him what he expected from them as ambassadors of Christ. Those who would not understand his exhortation read its meaning in the example he set them of untiring zeal and genuine self-denial. He withdrew from the empty parade of the court; declined all invitations to the showy feasts of the grandees; denied himself every superfluity in domestic life, that he might give to the poor; and devoted his income to the founding of missions for the crowds of barbarians pouring into Italy, the Goths in particular. In his sermons he exposed with great fearlessness the moral sores he had found alike in high and low in the luxurious capital. He characterized the positive dogmatic tone affected by so many, as a mask behind which a child of hell might be concealed. He lashed, without sparing, the avarice of the rich, the extravagance in dress of the women, and the eager running of everybody to the theatre and circus, "those devil-kitchens of paganism." He insisted upon a spiritual frame of mind, and its preservation in every relation. As in Antioch, here again, when uttering the most vital truths, he was frequently interrupted, to his sore pain, by the stentorian applause of the crowded congregation. "Friends," he cried out to the excited multitude, "what am I to do with your applause? It is the salvation of your souls I want. God is my

Head of the
Eastern church.

witness what tears I have shed in my secret chamber, that so many of you are still in your sins. Anxiety for your saving has almost made me forget to care for my own." His tears and prayers won a rich harvest of souls. Multitudes were by the word of fire from his tongue led to God. By degrees the city put on a different aspect. In him, it was said, the fable of Orpheus was verified: by the melody of his speech wolves and tigers were subdued, and changed to gentle lambs.

His zeal and plain speaking, wherever he went, with populace and with court, could not but make him bitter enemies. He found his worst foe at a long distance from him, in Theophilus, ^{Stirs up his} _{foes.} the bishop of Alexandria. This man hid an insatiable ambition and devotion to the world under the cloak of the loftiest priestly grandeeism. He was thoroughly unscrupulous. The moral earnestness and spirituality of the patriarch of Constantinople opposed him, like another evil conscience. Theophilus could not forgive him for being his superior in talent, influence, power, and fame. Day and night he brooded over the most feasible means of hurling him from office, or of tarnishing his reputation. Many a well-laid scheme he saw wrecked by the popularity of the excellent primate. One was his effort to anathematize him as a secret adherent of the heresies of Origen. This he attempted by means of a special synod which he had induced the weak bishop Epiphanius of Cyprus to call. Epiphanius went with his clergy all the way to Constantinople. There he was overwhelmed with the enthusiasm pervading the whole thronging population for their bishop. He was convinced, too, of his utter inability to prove the charges that had been trumped up. Thoroughly ashamed of himself, he took leave of his associates in the business with the words, "I leave with you the capital and the court and hypocrisy," and went back to his diocese. But now Theophilus, with a crowd of bishops, mostly Egyptians, went himself to the capital. He had the more certainty of victory from having heard that the patriarch was in disfavor with the empress. He deemed it prudent, however, to hold the intended synod not in the capital, but a little way out, in Chalcedon, at a country seat called "The Oak." On the question whether Chrysostom held heretical doctrines, there was a division. Then a mass of petty accusations were brought against him, plainly the inventions of malice. With bold face his foes charged him, among other things, with squandering the church property, with secretly leading a sensual life, with entering the church without a prayer, and a great deal more of the same sort. In their petition to the emperor to confirm their sentence of deposition, they remarked, with hypocritical moderation, that they would take no account of the treason charged upon the accused, in that he had publicly (on the occasion, it was said, of Eudoxia's forcibly seizing upon a vineyard in the suburbs, the only possession of a poor widow) called the empress a "Jezebel."

Under the lead of his crafty wife, Arcadius was persuaded, on the motion of this irregular synod, to pronounce a sentence of perpetual banishment upon his bishop. Chrysostom received the blow with manly composure. He conjured the stunned and indignant populace, who were just ready to create disturbance, for God and his Word's sake, to be quiet. He exclaimed to the agitated crowd: "Let the sea rage, the waves cannot touch the rock on which we stand; let wave rise above wave, the little ship, Jesus, in which we hide will never sink. What should I fear? Death? Christ is my life! Banishment? All the earth is the Lord's. The seizure of my worldly goods? I brought nothing into the world; what should I take out with me? I despise the world's terrors, and mock at all its splendors." He then took leave of the friendly bishops who stood near him, with the words: "Grieve not for me. I am not the first teacher, and shall not be the last. After Moses appeared a Joshua, after Jeremiah a Baruch, after Elijah an Elisha; and Paul, dying a martyr's death, left a Timothy, a Titus, an Apollos, and many others." To avoid a sedition, he quietly gave himself into the hands of the police in waiting, was put by them with great secrecy aboard a vessel, and immediately carried over to Bithynia. As soon as the news of this spread through the town, the streets resounded with curses on the synod, the foreign bishops, the imperial court, and the empress Eudoxia. Fear seized the foes of the banished. Their alarm grew when the next night an earthquake shock frightened the city. Eudoxia perceived in it a sign of the wrath of God. She at once, with her husband's approval, sent to the exile Brison the chamberlain, his warm friend, with a letter to the bishop, in which she said, among other things, "I am guiltless of the blood of your holiness," and besought him to return without delay. He did so. Received with great cries of joy, and attended by flags and torches (though he declared he would not again mount the pulpit until a lawfully convoked synod acquitted him of the false charges of Theophilus), he was borne along forcibly by the enthusiastic crowd up to the Church of the Apostles. Here, in the presence of the whole court, he invited all to join with him in praising God for the quick and surprising change in their affairs. "Banished from among you," he said, "I praised God. Given back to you, once more, I do the same. The courage of the faithful pilot is not weakened by the calm any more than it is shaken by the storm!"

A good understanding again existed between empress and bishop; but soon came an occurrence that ended it forever. Eudoxia had erected near St. Sophia, the principal church of the town, a splendid silver statue, and inaugurated it with festivities that savored far too much of paganism. Chrysostom certainly thought that he dared not pass in silence, in the public assembly, the great excess that marked the occasion. Word was carried Eudoxia, whether truly or in garbled form will ever remain doubt-

ful, that the bishop, in a fast-day sermon, on the anniversary of the death of John the Baptist, had the effrontery to say, evidently referring to the empress: "Herodias once more rages! Again she dances and has others dance; again she burns with longing desire to receive the head of John upon a charger!" Eudoxia immediately in- Second exile. sisted upon her husband's assembling the synod, but for a very different purpose than had been intended by Chrysostom. Under court influences its members proved unprincipled enough to pronounce against John, whose friends they had hitherto been, a sentence never allowed save to an ecumenical council. By it the bishop was found unworthy of his position. Unless reinstated by another and greater synod, or restored by the secular arm, he was irrevocably and forever dismissed from office. Chrysostom's friends implored the imperial pair not to confirm this unrighteous decree. It was in vain. A well-intentioned bishop threatened Eudoxia with Heaven's curse if she perpetrated her intended wickedness against "his holiness." His enemies upon their part cried out, "His blood be on us!" Eudoxia was inexorable. The sentence of banishment was signed. Soon the winds were filling the sails of the bark that carried the truest and best bishop of the Eastern church, the noblest ornament of the Eastern capital, into exile. A more undeserved fate was never decreed against mortal man.

Full of cheerful courage, Chrysostom for the second time landed on the coast of Bithynia. He was guarded by his military escort, not so much as a criminal, as a father to be waited on and cared for by them as by children. He had to await in Nice further orders as to his place of banishment. He spent the days of rest in writing letters of consolation and encouragement back to his friends in Constantinople; especially to the revered and almost saintly deaconess Olympias, as also to many friendly bishops, ministers, and missionaries far and near. His only care was the well-being of the church, and his motto that of Paul: "Yea, and if I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all." At the end of four weeks came the imperial command that he should go to Kukusus, a desolate town in a rough climate, away on the frontier between Isauria, Cilicia, and Armenia. "God be praised for everything," exclaimed the triumphant martyr, and under a burning sun set out hopefully on the long, tiresome journey. Contending with many difficulties and privations along the way, beset Affecting hardships. frequently by fierce robber troops, he went through parts of Phrygia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, and Armenia. More than once, when attacked by fever, did he have to halt in dreary, inhospitable deserts. But all these miseries moved him far less than the exceedingly melancholy aspect of the church which everywhere presented itself. Yet he had many a heart-felt token of sympathy from Christian people. Sometimes the exile's journey turned almost to a triumphal procession. But the

clergy that were worldly and wicked, envious and jealous, met him with cutting coldness and bitter enmity. Often they drew from him the sigh: "Take pity, Lord, for here are flocks that have no shepherds." Report spoke of a pious bishop, Pharetrius of Cæsarea; but this unworthy man not only kept away from Chrysostom, but let a set of fanatic monks, with loud revilings, expel him from the town, and deprive him of a brief repose provided him by a pious matron, Seleucia, at her villa. He was driven from this quiet sanctuary into the pathless desert in the dead of night. The mule he was riding stumbled. He lay breathless on the ground. Collecting his strength with a hearty "God be praised for everything," he again mounted, and pursued his weary journey, with an abiding trust that a convoy of angels was attending him.

At length he reached Kukusus, a miserable desert place, but made an Eden to him by the love, so long missed, with which he was welcomed, after so many misfortunes, by the bishop and the entire population.

His letters thence to Constantinople ring like songs of praises. To Olympias, who had pitied all his weary trial, he wrote, "Remember there is only one really sad thing, sin!" But he was not to remain long in Kukusus. A threatened attack by a band of savage incendiaries from Isauria obliged the people, and Chrysostom with them, to make their way as well as they could, through snow and ice, to Arabyssus, a fortress about sixty miles from Kukusus. He arrived there sick; so crowded was the town with fugitives that he could have only a mean, narrow little room. Yet he soon regained bodily strength, while not a moment did he cloud his spirit with sadness.

All this while his enemies at Constantinople were not satisfied. Furious that news was continually received of the exile, and that by his word and life his lustre shone over land and sea, they coaxed the emperor Arcadius (Eudoxia had died a painful death in the autumn of 404) to order Chrysostom's transportation from Arabyssus to Pityus, a lonely desert place not far from Colchis, on the extreme borders of the Roman empire, and possessed and surrounded by barbarous tribes. In the year 407 it was that two soldiers were ordered to conduct him thither. When he came to the town of Komana, in Pontus, he went with his two attendants into the church, where, according to tradition, was the tomb of Basilicus. Utterly exhausted he fell asleep, and had a vision which stirred his whole soul. The martyr Basilicus appeared to him, and said: "Be of good cheer, brother, for to-morrow we shall be together." On awaking, he begged the guards to be allowed to stay a little while longer in the sacred place. "No," was the brutal reply; "on with you to Pityus." He obeyed. Scarcely, however, had he dragged his weary limbs half an hour's journey, when suddenly his strength failed, though not his faculties. He had to be carried back to the church at Komana. With a cheerful countenance he laid aside his travel-stained garments,

giving them to the poor who stood around, drew forth clean raiment from his little bundle and put it on. Then he knelt down to pray near a cross by the grave of the holy martyr, uttered for the last time his motto and watchword, "God be praised for everything," ^{glorious triumph.} bowed his head, and joyously, in firm trust in the blood of Jesus Christ, this faithful shepherd, tried and purified in the fire seven times, passed to the church triumphant.

Thus died John Chrysostom, September 14, 407, a sacrifice to a debased Christianity. One of the great fathers of the ancient church, he was the last illustrious teacher of the East. He speaks even to-day in his numerous writings, full of an emotion that reaches the heart. Through his example he verifies this side heaven the saying, "They that be wise (or are teachers) shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever." Undoubtedly several fathers of the early ages excelled him in profoundness of doctrine, and exercised greater influence on the shaping of the creed of the first centuries. But in holy beauty, in grace and persuasive force, in his reforming power in religious life, there is hardly one to compare to him till the days of Luther. It is not to be denied that the great preacher's ministry would have had yet more abiding influence had not to his mind, as to the whole church then, the Bible doctrine of justification through faith alone been partially eclipsed. Chrysostom's especial vocation was to preach repentance and whole-hearted conversion. His word was confirmed by God, by many a sign and gift of the Holy Spirit. He was and now is one among the most gifted, favored, and faultless souls by whom God builds up his kingdom on earth; a man after God's own heart; as true, joyous, and self-sacrificing a shepherd as has tended Christ's flock since the Apostles; a true Bible scholar, who, to the best of his knowledge and ability, drew his words directly from the fountain of the "sure word of prophecy," and never ceased to draw. He was the model of what a priest of God should be, devoting himself solely to the Master and his work. In this, even more than in his preaching, he is to this hour to the whole church, and especially to her ministers, an illustrious example. — F. W. K.

LIFE XVII. AMBROSE OF MILAN.

A. D. 333—A. D. 397. IN THE WEST, — ITALY.

AMBROSE, bishop of Milan, is the first of the four great men distinguished above all others as fathers of the Latin church. By his piety, good judgment, and vigor, he far outshines every Italian or Roman bishop before him. The archbishopric of Milan owed to him her independence

in church order and worship, which for centuries would not be made subject to the all-prevalent Roman uniformity. This long continuing influence evidences the greatness of his Christian talents.

Ambrose sprang from a Roman family of position. He was born in 333, the last year of Constantine the Great, and a little before the death of Arius. He lived in an age of the fiercest conflicts, — orthodoxy with Arianism; Christianity with heathenism; the power of the church with the unlimited pretensions of imperial rule; the empire with usurpers and assassins; the Roman realm with the attack of the Goths; and in all these conflicts he maintained manfully and successfully the side of the right. Meantime, as a good shepherd, he led his congregation. In a day of general decline, he cultivated by word and example a heroic endeavor after Christian virtue and holiness, as defined by the standard of his age, and by his own understanding of the will of God. His was a pure soul, that did not seek its own, was humble before God, tender and deep in its love to his own people, fearless in personal danger, often in tears, but always happy in the worship and service of the Lord.

He was the youngest of three children. He had a sister, Marcellina, and a brother, Satyrus, older than himself. His father, also
His family. named Ambrose, was governor in Gaul. He resided in Lyons, Arles, or Trier, — in which is not certain, — and in one of these cities, probably, Ambrose was born. When once his parents were walking in the open court of the palace, and the child lay near them in his cradle, there settled on his lips a swarm of bees. His nurse was about to drive them off, but the father would not allow it, and said, "If the child lives, there will some great thing be done by him." The bees soon flew away, and left the boy unharmed. Some one later saw in it a sign of his coming kindly eloquence, with allusion to the passage, "Pleasant words are as an honeycomb, sweet to the soul, and health to the bones." An honorable, virtuous spirit appears to have been hereditary in Ambrose's family, but no Christian belief. He was not baptized early in life. While he was still a boy, his father died. His mother, with her bereaved children, returned to Rome. The widow's house was now opened to the influence of Christianity, which then received in Italy and Gaul a fresh impulse through the presence of Athanasius, the great bishop of Alexandria. As early as 336 this man of God was in Trier, as an exile, and perhaps was known then to the family of Ambrose. After 342, he passed six years in Italy, banished from his office. At the beginning and end of this exile he visited bishop Julius in Rome, where, by his portrayal of the edifying life of the Egyptian hermits, he created a great awaking to effort after holiness by complete renunciation of worldly things. Several ladies of the higher ranks were deeply affected; among them was Marcellina, Ambrose's sister, and with her, in the same way of thinking, their devout mother. This example of his sister and her

friends made a great impression upon Ambrose, and influenced him, though not designedly. Albeit his training, as also his brother's for the higher state service, to which his position called him, lay in the hands of pagan teachers and statesmen, he did not lose these impressions of his youth. He already had a dim presentiment of his future lofty calling; for once, when he had seen the pious ladies of his house kiss the hand of the bishop, he said jokingly to a friend of his sister, "Kiss me, too, on my hand; for I will some day be a bishop also." While a youth, he entered the law as a barrister and advocate, and secured, by means of his character and talents, the confidence of the statesmen who observed him.

He was chosen by Probus, the governor and superior judge of Italy, as his counselor, and in the year 370 was given by him the Is a Roman gov- ernor. governorship of Milan, by which the provinces of Emilia and Liguria, with the cities of Bologna, Turin, and Genoa, came under his sway. "Go not as a judge, but as a bishop," the gentle Probus said to him at his departure; and surprisingly soon the judge literally turned bishop, although he came to Milan as a catechumen, unbaptized.

Auxentius, who had dispossessed the orthodox bishop Dionysius, and actively favored the Arians, was now dead. The two parties of the orthodox and the Arians fought in the cathedral over the choice of a bishop. The most serious disturbances were to be feared. Ambrose went into the church, and addressed the excited multitude to quiet the uproar. Then a childish voice is said to have been heard crying, "Ambrose is bishop!" At once rose the unanimous cry of the entire throng, and demanded Ambrose as bishop. Each party could hope to win the excellent man, who was very Christian-like, but not yet a Christian. He, greatly shocked, refused utterly, proceeded as judge with unusual severity, and even brought notoriously bad women into his palace, to blot his reputation. The people did not allow themselves to be diverted. Finally he fled and hid himself in a neighboring country seat. Meantime, the emperor Valentinian First received the news, and joyfully confirmed the election. Ambrose's place of refuge was discovered, and he was obliged, at last, to follow the general desire. He received baptism at the hands of an orthodox priest, took one after another the priestly vows, and some eight days after his baptism mounted the episcopal chair (December, 374). He exercised his sacred office for twenty years. From his very entrance upon it, he renounced all care of his own property, gave his money to the poor, his real estate to his brother to manage, the income of it to his sister, and its ownership to the church. Soon after his elevation he went to Rome to see his deeply beloved sister, Marcellina. Their mother meantime had died. He found there also the friend to whom he had reached his hand jestingly for a kiss, and reminded her that he was now become in fact what he had unwittingly prophesied, a bishop.

At that time the Italian bishops were accustomed to preach very rarely. From Liberius, the bishop of Rome, we have a discourse on but one occasion,—the consecration of Marcellina, the sister of Ambrose, to perpetual virginity. It was Ambrose who first introduced into Italy the custom of sermons upon every Sunday, after the precedent of the Greek and North African churches. Yet, as he came a novice into the bishop's office, he had himself, as he declares, to learn the doctrines. Here his exact knowledge of the Greek language came into play. It is a deficiency in him, but not a matter of reproach, that often he is but the translator and imitator of his Greek masters, Origen and Basil, and without discrimination introduces their faults and their excellences into his discourses. When it was important to warn and to speak to the heart, then he ever exhibited his own peculiar talents. His spoken eloquence must have been far greater than is shown in his written sermons; for he could thoroughly captivate his hearers, and among them was Augustine, who was by him especially led back from Manichæan scholasticism to simple Christianity. "While I was giving my mind," Augustine says, "to hear how well he spoke, I became suddenly aware how truly he spoke." He especially displayed his eloquence when he consecrated virgins taking the veil. They came from the regions of Bologna and Piacenza, as well as from Mauritania in Africa, to take the veil at his hands. The mothers of Milan would not suffer their daughters to attend these sermons, fearing lest they also should choose the single condition of life. But Ambrose gave his greatest care to the instruction of catechumens. He knew here how to make excellent use of the Bible history, joining with it Christian instruction and awakening. Evidences of this remain in his treatises on Paradise, on Cain and Abel, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, which all arose from his instructions to catechumens. He sought also to elevate the mind of the clergy who were under him. To this end he delivered a course of addresses, which he subsequently wrought into three books, "On Duties." He had in his mind Cicero's work, "De Officiis," which he remodeled, handling it freely, from a Christian stand-point. He was deeply interested in this, for the church since Constantine needed to combine her precepts with the severe morals of the ancient Romans, and to penetrate the Roman state with a Christian atmosphere. Cicero had naturalized in Rome the lessons of the Greek philosophers Plato and Zeno. By his work "On Duties," he made them accord with the Roman conceptions of morals and of the state. To Ambrose is to be ascribed the great merit of first conceiving and following out the idea of transforming the Roman Empire, which had so many pagan elements, into a Christian commonwealth. Not that he sought that object with conscious purpose; he approached it unknowingly, under the holy impulses of heart and conscience, as he associated

Pastor and
preacher.

Practical dis-
courses.

with the emperors of his day, and as a chief of the church came into business contact with the civil government. To keep the princes well disposed to the church's dignity and order, to keep the people well inclined to the sovereign power and the imperial succession,—this was his Christian endeavor; and he thus proved a benefactor of both princes and people, a restorer and preserver of the peace.

Ambrose had exercised his office scarce a year when (November, 375) Valentinian the First died, leaving behind two sons, Gratian, who was seventeen, and Valentinian Second, a child of four. The emperor's widow, Justina, falling under Arian influence, put forth great power to advance her favorites, but found in Ambrose a strong opponent. When the Eastern emperor Valens was wounded by the Goths (378), and taking refuge in a peasant's cottage was burned up, and the wild storm of Goths swept over Thrace and Illyria, dragging away many citizens as captives, Ambrose not only raised great sums of money to ransom as many prisoners as possible, but had the church vessels of gold and silver melted for the purpose. Gratian made choice for emperor of the East of the brave, energetic Theodosius, who entered on his government January 19, 379. At this moment, when the inroads of the Goths were threatening Milan, Ambrose was mourning the death of his only brother. Satyrus was at home after a dangerous voyage, in which he had been cast upon Africa in a shipwreck, and had barely escaped alive, and was visiting his brother. There he was taken with a fatal illness, and gave up his spirit in the arms of his brother and sister, in the same devout way in which he had lived. He was commemorated by Ambrose in a funeral sermon, which still exists.

The next year Ambrose waged many a victorious battle with Arians and pagan Romans, who beset the palace of the emperor Gratian. He effected by his influence the removal from the senate chamber of the statue of the Goddess of Victory. After its first removal by Constantine, it had been replaced by Julian, but now was taken away, against the urgent remonstrances of the pagan senators and their eloquent lawyer Symmachus. Soon after this came a pressing famine in Italy; victory, too, forsook the emperor in a war against the usurper Maximus, who advanced through Gaul from Britain at the head of an army, winning over the legions of the legitimate ruler. Gratian, flying, was murdered at Lyons, in the twenty-fourth year of his age (August 25, 383), remembering his bishop in his dying words. Ambrose, greatly crushed by this disaster, was not in the least thereby affected in his faith. He saw in it no evidence against his religion, but a call to Christian fidelity. When Symmachus, in a memorial, earnestly recommended the restoration of the statue of Victory, he opposed it, and there was no more heard of it. On two occasions, by commission from the emperor's mother Justina, now reigning in the name of her young son, Valentinian Second, Ambrose

undertook in person, a difficult embassy to Maximus, and negotiated a peace. He resisted at the court of Maximus, albeit in vain, the bloody doings of that tyrant, in punishing with the sword as malefactors errorists who could not be convinced of error. Alas, the church afterwards largely copied what an unlawful ruler cruelly began in opposition to this most noble leader. She, too, raged with fire and sword against real and supposed errorists, as well as against witnesses of God's truth.

By and by it became a desire of Justina to please the Arians, to whom adhered the Gothic troops, who were in large part the support of the staggering Roman Empire. She therefore commanded bishop Ambrose to concede to that party a church in the suburbs of Milan for public worship. This was on the Saturday before Palm Sunday, 385. Ambrose refused, relying on the church law and the clergy and people of Milan. Justina was angry, threatened violence, but did nothing. A greater danger came the year after, when the empress, in the name of her son, gave a law, by which public worship was allowed the Arians, with threatening of death to every one who forcibly hindered them, or even opposed quietly by a suit at court. Ambrose assembled the bishops and priests who were then present in Milan, and in their name drew up a paper praying for the law's repeal. Then the empress called for a religious conference at the palace, between Ambrose and an Arian bishop. Ambrose refused, inasmuch as decisions on doctrine belonged not to the imperial court but to church assemblies. His banishment from Milan was now sought. He did not yield, but declared that he dare not leave his flock amid these dangers. His person was threatened with violence. He fled into the church, surrounded as it was by the soldiery. The congregation assembled round him, and were strengthened by him in religious discourse, prayers, and singing. He caused hymns to be sung that he himself had composed in rhythm. He it was who first introduced the antiphonal singing of psalms and hymns from the Greek church. Under the name of Ambrosian singing it was spread through the West, and received with favor. On this decisive day in the church of Milan, there was present, among others, Augustine, who was already (since 384) come from Rome to Milan, as teacher of rhetoric, and also his mother. He has recorded how deep an impression this solemnity made upon him, and how the tears of his widowed mother were copiously shed.

Ambrose proved victorious. The next year (387) he celebrated a more gentle and peaceful triumph, when he received Augustine, with his friend Alypius and his son Adeodatus, in holy baptism. There is a beautiful church tradition that at that time the Holy Spirit gave Christianity her glorious hymn of praise, *Te Deum Laudamus*, in an alternate song of Ambrose and Augustine. Even though the later origin of this hymn can be established, the tradition

Triumphs of
Ambrose.

rightly utters the deep harmony of these two men of God, their blessed unison of song and prayer to the triune God, and their accord with the believing of all ages.

Soon Justina required Ambrose to go upon another embassy to Maximus, to beg the remains of her son Gratian, and if possible to avert a fatal descent of the usurper upon Italy. In the latter task he failed. Justina, with her young son, was forced to seek in the East the protection of Theodosius. Maximus, with his hosts, overspread North Italy, but was defeated by Theodosius, beleaguered in Aquileia, and after the taking of the city was beheaded. The noble victor, at the petition of Ambrose, gave pardon to many of his followers.

Theodosius could show fierce wrath, could deal hard strokes at riot and mutiny. There was need of it in that day, when the bonds of union through the empire were relaxing, and foes from without were threatening. Yet he had before this (in the spring of 387) punished gently a riotous outbreak in Antioch, and at the prayer of Flavian, the bishop of the place, had readily forgiven it, even though the statues of the emperor and his family had been thrown down and dragged along the pavements of the city. A more serious outbreak now took place in Thessalonica, in Macedonia (A. D. 390). This the emperor resolved to punish to the utmost. Ambrose exhorted him to use Christian leniency, and spare the innocent. The emperor made him the best promises, then adopted other counsels, and took a fearful revenge. The rage of his soldiery was left unrestrained, and seven thousand persons, the innocent along with the guilty, were slain in a fearful massacre. A cry of horror spread through the land. But no one dared tell the truth to the terrible emperor, the saviour of Italy and the empire. Theodosius came back to Milan. Stained with blood, as the prince was, Ambrose could not bring himself to allow him to approach the Lord's Supper, unless he repented of his blood guiltiness. He wrote him in respectful terms that he would defer the celebration of the sacrament while he was there, giving his own illness, as he was then ill, for a reason; at the same time Rebukes an emperor. he set before him his fault, and admonished him to humble himself before God. Theodosius refrained for eight months from the sacrament, and gained admission from Ambrose into the church, for the first time, on Christmas. He had already testified his penitence in public, and revived a law that a death sentence should not be executed in less than thirty days after receiving the imperial signature. The emperor's repentance was sincere. Through his entire life he preserved a painful recollection of his crime. Thus Ambrose saved his own conscience, the majesty of the church, and the emperor's soul. He had shown regard at the same time to the majesty of the sovereign, for he did not, as is thought by many, abruptly reject him at the church's doors in a rude and theatrical fashion, but admonished him privately, and brought him to repent of his own accord.

Ambrose's relations with the boy emperor, Valentinian Second, were ended by the latter's murder in his twentieth year (May 15, 392) by the rebel Arbogast. Ambrose, when his remains were brought to Milan for burial, pronounced an affecting funeral discourse, which is still in existence. Arbogast set up as emperor a certain Eugenius, who threw himself upon the good-will of the Arians and pagans, making them concessions. Ambrose forsook Milan as long as Eugenius was there, and when the latter lost his empire and his life in his defeat by Theodosius (in the summer of 394), Ambrose rendered his hearty thanksgivings unto God. He wrote to the emperor: "The letter of your pious clemency have I laid upon the altar; I held it in my hand when I brought thither the sacrifice, that through my lips thy heart might be speaking, and that thy lines might be obliged to perform the priestly service."

Theodosius died in Milan, the 17th of January, 395. His remains were carried to Constantinople for burial. First, however, some forty days after the emperor's death, there was held by Ambrose a commemorative service, in the presence of the two sons and successors of the emperor, Honorius, eleven years old, and Arcadius, eighteen, the great dignitaries of the realm, the military leaders, and a large part of the army. While he celebrated appropriately the deeds and virtues of the great emperor, he sought also to win securely for his tender children the loyalty of their subjects. He inculcated in a way that suited the taste of that period the principles of Christian government.

A little while before Easter of the year 397, Ambrose fell ill. The imperial lieutenant, Stilicho, declared at the news that his death foreboded the fall of Italy. He urged the worthiest men of Milan, loved by Ambrose above others, to go and beseech him to pray for the continuance of his life. So many instances were told of answers to his prayers that men believed that what he asked of God would be granted. But Ambrose replied to his friends: "I have not so lived among you as to be ashamed to live yet longer; but neither do I fear death, for we have a good Lord." When he was praying in company with a ministerial friend, he beheld, as he lay resting, the Lord Jesus confronting him, and smiling on him benignantly. In the closing hours, he lay quiet, his hands crossed upon his bosom. He was seen praying, with his lips moving, but was not heard. Honoratus, bishop of Vercelli, who was with him, had laid himself down in an upper chamber to rest. He heard as if thrice the words, "Rise! Quick! In a moment he will expire." He hastened down, gave him the Lord's Supper, and then Ambrose expired. This was on the 4th of April, the eve of Easter. His body was laid in the Milan Cathedral. The many visions and signs and remarkable cures that were said to follow indicate the deep impression left by his godly course of life and his Christian character.

Some time after Ambrose had gone home, there came the queen of the

Marcomanni, named Fritigil, all the way from the woods of Bohemia, to pay him a visit. She was affected very deeply when she found Ambrose was no more. — II. E. S.

LIFE XVIII. JEROME.

A. D. 331—A. D. 441. IN THE WEST, — ITALY.

JEROME was the second of the four great teachers of Latin Christianity. He was born in the year 331, in Stridon, in Dalmatia, a Roman town between the rivers Drave and Save. The place was destroyed in 377 by the Goths, but most likely is the present Strigow. His father, Eusebius, was a Christian, as were the whole family; yet Jerome was not baptized till 362, in Rome, whither his father had sent him in early manhood for the completion of his education. He went through the whole of the usual course of that day, studying grammar under the celebrated Aolius Donatus, rhetoric and philosophy At school in Rome. under other masters. He found food for his receptive, inquiring mind in the classic writers of pagan Rome; he was also well acquainted with Greek. The youth's excitable nature was open to the dangerous allurements so plentiful in the luxurious metropolis. His ardent imagination added to the power of his temptations. He lived like the youths with whom he associated, commanding all the resources of culture and enjoyment, gathering meanwhile great acquirements from observation and from books. He was greatly impressed by the remains of heathen art in Rome, but his heart and imagination rested especially on the Christian monuments. He visited on Sundays the churches, the tombs of the apostles and martyrs, and the catacombs. In these subterranean passages and rooms, dimly lighted by tapers, and holding in niches along the sides the bodies of the dead, as if in sleep, he beheld the scenes of divine worship in the days of persecution. There had been brought to Italy and Rome by Athanasius the Great, bishop of Alexandria, at the time of his exile, reports of the voluntary self-denial and distinguished virtues of Antony and other saintly hermits that in Egypt were following his brilliant example. Jerome was at that time a wonderfully fantastic mixture of flesh and spirit, sinful lust and moral rectitude, paganism and Christianity. Yet he was striving for better things, and his effort after the new holy life of the Christian won the victory, especially after his baptism (362). With his friend Bonosus he undertook a journey the next year (363) to Gaul and the Rhine, and subsequently to Aquileia, where he found the presbyter Rufinus seeking ends like his own, and formed with him the closest friendship. Bonosus afterwards left him to live as a hermit on a barren island in the Adriatic.

Jerome had before joined with his pagan studies the reading of Christian authors. He was drawn to this, not by their stores of knowledge only, but especially by their grandeur and heroism, by the adventurous and wonderful. He was not satisfied with reading; he must behold, undergo, and experience everything for himself. He painted everything that was told him in the highest colors, for he was extraordinarily fanciful, as his style of writing betrays. He found Italy, after a few years, unendurable. With his friends Innocentius and Evagrius, he journeyed to the East, visited Bithynia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, and at the close of the year 373 reached Antioch, the native town of Evagrius. There Jerome passed a winter marked by sickness, misfortunes, and disquietude of conscience. Then it was that he resolved, amid prayers, fastings, and tears, to be a thorough Christian, to subdue utterly the desires of the flesh, to give up pagan literature, and to devote his whole life to the cause of the faith. He carried out this purpose, amid severe conflicts. He adopted, indeed, the conception of Christian perfection that was held by the best men of his day. He resigned himself to monkish asceticism, while he relieved the irritability of his passionate temperament by controversial writings. At this time he had that remarkable dream which he relates to his friend, the Christian lady Eustochium. He fancied himself standing at the judgment-seat of God. When the Lord asked him what he was, he answered, "I am a Christian." The voice replied, "Thou art not a Christian, but art a Ciceronian, for where thy treasure is, there is thy heart also." Then Jerome felt the blow of a whip, of which he assured his friends he afterward found the marks and felt the pain. At last he received pardon, by the intercession of others, when he had first taken a solemn oath never more to open a pagan book. Without concluding from this dream that the use of heathen writings is forbidden a Christian, we may believe that with Jerome his delight in the artificial beauties of Cicero's eloquence was carried to a sinful extent, unfitting him for the pure and simple grandeur of the Bible. Jerome, with the most eminent of the church teachers of his century, often did injury by pagan rhetoric and bombast to simple, healthful, manly Christian utterance.

Jerome was beset still by the tempest of struggles that overtook him in Antioch. In the desert of Chalcis he sought with heroic zeal to banish the lascivious images wrought in him by his too early vitiated imagination. He could not achieve it with all his prayer and fasting till he had recourse to mental occupations, in harmony with his learned aspirations and divine calling. He undertook to learn Hebrew, with the help of a learned Jew, being the first Latin scholar that had set himself to the task. The beginning is found here of the first attempt of western Christianity at the independent study of the Old Testament. In Jerome slowly ripened the fruits of more than forty years' labor, which he be-

stowed on the translation and exposition of the Old as well as the New Testament. He was assisted by the extensive preparatory works of the Greek church fathers, especially of Origen, the great Alexandrian. At the same time he was delayed in his good work by many interruptions, disputes, and obstacles, some of them of his own creation.

Having spent four years in penitent solitude, Jerome returned to Antioch, and was there consecrated presbyter by bishop Paulinus; with the understanding, however, that he should be forever exempt from ministerial duties, and should not have to give up his monkish life and its independence. The next year (379) he went to Constantinople to hear Gregory of Nazianz, whose pupil he was proud to reckon himself long afterwards. He there studied thoroughly the writings of the Greek church fathers, and translated the chronicle of Eusebius into Latin, but with alterations and additions. He translated also, at the request of his friends, some of Origen's writings. On his return to Antioch, he accompanied bishop Paulinus to Rome (382). He was there received by pope Damasus with marks of distinction, and was made by him his confidant in ecclesiastical affairs. From this he received in later times the title of Roman cardinal, though that office certainly did not exist then in the sense that it bore some eight centuries afterward. He thus by degrees took a share in the government of the Western church, which just at that time was sustaining a hard fight with the last remnant of heathenism. In comparison, however, with the church of the East, torn with its schisms, it wore a venerable aspect of unity and steadfastness in the faith. What was more important to the life of Jerome, Damasus commissioned him to take the Latin translations of the New Testament, which differed greatly and were in parts very incorrect, and test and correct them by the best Greek manuscripts, thus to prepare the way for a pure, uniform version for universal use. Jerome began his work with the four Evan- Edits the Gos-
gelists. He edited these, and made a list of passages, follow- pels.
ing earlier Greek interpreters, showing what each evangelist had in common with the others, or peculiar to himself. He corrected also, while in Rome, the Latin translation of the Psalms; not indeed as yet after the original Hebrew, but from the Greek Alexandrian version. His labor in this, so necessary and wholesome for the entire Western church, found abundant opposition on the side of those who were accustomed to regard their faulty copies as the Word of God, and who could not bear to see what to them was holy writ corrected by a man.

Jerome opposed the frightful corruption of manners in Rome, prevailing not only among the pagan but the Christian citizens. His remedy was monkish abstemiousness and celibacy. He would thus secure the life for God, amid fasting and prayer and the reading of the Scriptures. His heroic and unbounded efforts excited great admiration and imitation, especially among the Christian women. He met some little resist-

ance on scriptural grounds, which he overcame by his skillful argument. He found severer opposition on the side of the world. The persons judged and condemned by him in their bitterness would neither understand nor admit how far he was in the right. By the favor of Damasus, Jerome was preserved, during the life of that pope, from an open demonstration of the public feeling. By his influence, chiefly, several women of wealth and exalted rank, Marcella, Albina, Paula, and her daughter Eustochium, were led to renounce marriage, the world, and every allurements, devoting themselves to a life of penitence, prayer, and self-denial. The public discontent at this broke over all bounds at the rumor that Blaesilla, the daughter of Paula, a young widow of twenty, had died from violent castigations, leaving her mother inconsolable. "Why do we not," was the cry, "drive these abominable monks out of town? They ought to be stoned to death, or thrown into the water!" To withdraw from this hate shown to him personally, Jerome hastened his departure. He took ship to Cyprus (August, 385), there visiting his friend, the bishop Epiphanius; thence to Antioch, accompanied by his younger brother, Paulinianus, and several monks. He was followed by Paula and her daughter Eustochium, and the devout company, that same winter, went on to Jerusalem to visit there the holy places. In the spring of the year 386, these pilgrims betook themselves to Egypt; from Alexandria they bore greetings to the monks in the Nitrian desert. While his companions were wholly busied with their devotions, Jerome gathered up many geographical and other facts to serve him in understanding the Scriptures. He made the acquaintance, also, in Alexandria, of the celebrated expositor, Didymus. Returning from Egypt, he and his devout friends chose Bethlehem as a permanent residence.

Jerome had seen and deplored the great defects of his age. He had himself had experience of both of them, — the devastations of immorality and licentiousness in the perishing Roman Empire, which was endangering by its downfall the whole Christian church, and the want of independent Bible study in the church of the West. Knowing nothing of the original Bible languages, especially the Hebrew, the church was cut off from the sources of truth, and had to accept faulty translations and arbitrary expositions. To attain holiness by the mortifying of the flesh, to understand the Bible by its study and edify himself and others by its perusal, Jerome made from this time forth the aim of his life. He devoted himself thereto with heroic self-forgetfulness and untiring zeal, all the while surveying from his solitary watch-tower in the town of Christ's nativity the whole church of Christ upon the earth. A man of enormous power of intellect, he directed all the impetuosity and strength of his nature to the promotion of Christian knowledge and piety as he understood them. And though he may sometimes have mingled error

with truth, and confounded God's glory with the human "I," he yet did what he could, and he did much.

In the waste portions of Bethlehem he contented himself at the first with a miserable abode, in which he led an almost solitary life. But after the lapse of three years he formed a small religious community. Cloisters were built by the help of Paula's fortune: one for the monks, with Jerome as teacher and leader; another for virgins and widows, with Paula at its head. A third building was set apart for the reception and entertainment of pilgrims. Bread, water, and pulse were the daily food of this pious company; a garment of coarse stuff their clothing; a hard couch their resting-place; reading and studying the Holy Scriptures under Jerome's guidance almost their only occupation. He collected, himself, with untiring diligence, the materials for the expositions on which he fed his devout community. He overcame his aversion to Christ's enemies so far as to continue learning the Hebrew under a pious Jew, named Baranina, who could come to him only at night, because it would not have been suffered by the other Jews that the ^{lives in Pales-} treasures of the Old Testament should be unlocked to a ^{time.}

Christian. Jerome (from 389 on) wrote expositions of Paul's epistles, Philemon, Galatians, Ephesians, and Titus, and sent them to Marcella in Rome, who had begged to have them. In these commentaries he made use of the works of the Greek fathers, especially Origen. He published (390) a work upon the meaning of Hebrew names; another upon the names and localities of Hebrew places; a third upon passages in Genesis, in which he shows how the faults of the Greek and Latin translations are to be corrected from the Hebrew. Then he began his principal work, a new Latin translation of the Old Testament from the original, with which he was occupied fifteen years, though indeed with frequent interruptions. His commentaries upon the prophets and some other Old Testament books are valuable as containing many linguistic observations, with choice passages from Greek expounders of the sacred writings. Of his other publications, biographies of holy men, translations from the Greek, and controversial treatises, there shall be noted here only one,—his catalogue of distinguished Christian authors, at the end of which is a list of his own writings. In addition, a great mass of letters must be included, part of them very prolix, and many of them addressed to devout Christian women.

Jerome's controversial writings, however important to himself and the church of his age, must be here passed over. He often argued more for his own sake than for the sake of the good cause; often quite as zealously for an error as for the truth; and not satisfied with refuting his adversary wanted to annihilate him. He fell out with his friend Rufinus over Origen. The latter was with justice attacked for his errors. Thereupon Jerome, though he honored the great services of that father,

quarreled with his friend for upholding him. He fell out with bishop John of Jerusalem also, who disapproved of passing a sentence of condemnation on Origen so long after his death. By his attack on Pelagius, who had warm partisans in the Greek church and in Palestine especially, in the synod of Diospolis (Lydda), Jerome brought upon himself, in his later years, the persecutions of the enraged populace, so that he had to take refuge for a while in a fortified tower. Most thoroughly was Jerome right, when he advocated a clear, explicit translation of the Scriptures. He has afforded the greatest help, in his expositions of the Bible, to its grammatical, historical, and geographical elucidation. By his allegorical interpretations he has done harm, often bordering in them on the marvelous. After all his manifold labors and conflicts, in an advanced old age, in the ninetieth year of his life, he died in Bethlehem, and was there buried. His bones, it is said, were in the thirteenth century carried to Rome, and laid first in the church of Maria Maggiore, by the altar of Christ's manger, but afterwards removed to some other place.

Bethlehem, where Christ's manger had been, was the spot Jerome chose as the dearest to him on earth; and shortly before his death he wrote the following, which has been appropriately introduced into a Christmas sermon by Valerius Herberger: "As often as I look on this place, my heart holds sweet discourse with the child Jesus. I say, Ah, Lord Jesus, how dost thou tremble; how hard dost thou lie on thy couch, and all for my soul's welfare. How can I ever repay thee therefor! Then methinks I hear the young child's answer: Nothing do I desire, my beloved Jerome, but that thou sing, 'Glory to God in the Highest.' Trouble not thyself; for my need, for thy sake, shall be still greater in the Garden of Gethsemane and on the cross. Then I continue, Dear child Jesus, I must give thee something! I will give thee all my gold. The child answers, The heaven and earth are ever mine; I need it not. Give it to the poor; then I will accept it, as given to me. I again open my lips: Dear babe Jesus, I will do so with gladness, but to thee personally I must give something, or I shall die of grief! The child answers, Beloved Jerome, as thou art so bounteous, I will tell thee what thou shalt give me: give me thy sins, thine evil conscience, and thy damnation! I say, What wilt thou do with them? The child Jesus says, I will take them on my shoulders. This shall be my sovereign act and deed of fame, as Isaiah spoke long ago, that I should bear thy sins and carry them away. Then I began to weep bitterly," adds Jerome, "saying, Child, dear child Jesus, how hast thou touched my heart! I thought thou wouldst have something good, and thou wilt have nothing but what is evil in me. Take, then, what is mine; give me what is thine; then am I free from sin, and sure of life everlasting."

Jerome has been often represented in paintings: sometimes he is a her-

mit, in a coarse garment; or a dweller in the desert, a lion at his side; or else beating his breast with a stone, as the penitent in the wilderness of Chalcis; sometimes with a red hat, as the counselor of pope Damasus; sometimes as a learned scholar, with his ^{Jerome in art.} Bible. Correggio has painted him standing by Christ's manger, reading devoutly, by the side of the new-born Saviour, the prophecy of Isaiah: "Unto us a child is born, unto us a Son is given; the Wonderful, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace." This is the Jerome whom we gratefully honor; the scribe who teaches us the way to heaven, bringing out of his treasures things new and old; the translator of the Bible for the Latin church, in the Roman tongue, as Luther is the interpreter of the word of God for the evangelic church in our German language. — II. E. S.

LIFE XIX. MONICA OF NORTH AFRICA.

A. D. 332—A. D. 387. IN THE WEST, — NORTH AFRICA.

THE instances are notable, in the history of God's kingdom, of great teachers, rich in blessings to the church of Christ, who were indebted for their first deep impressions of piety to the influence of godly mothers, whose activities afterwards in the holy cause may be traced directly to their care. Often when the truth germs in souls encompassed by errors and by life's tempests seemed lost, the early impressions associated with thoughts of their mothers came back, and called, irresistibly, their longing hearts to return into the divine peace, so sweetly known in days of childhood. In that company of Christian mothers, venerable for their own lives, and deserving besides of lasting remembrance for their influence upon their children, belongs, certainly, Monica, the mother of the great church teacher, Aurelius Augustine.

Monica was born about the year 332, probably in the Numidian town of Tagaste, where she lived after marriage. Of Christian parentage, she was carefully brought up. In recounting incidents of her childhood, she recalled her great attachment first to her parents, then to an old servant who had nursed her father before her, and still re-
Her old nurse.
 mained in the family, less as a servant than as a friend, beloved and respected by all. To this aged woman the training of the little daughter was entrusted. She executed her office with wholesome severity and kindly discretion. From small beginnings she sought in the child the largest development of the domestic virtues. Monica was by no means of a quiet and passive disposition, but lively and high-spirited. She faced the world with a bright, vigorous sense of enjoyment, united to great depth of feeling. On such good soil the gospel took deep root, in-

fusing divine strength into this being so full of life and originality. After having, as a good daughter, done her duty in her parental home, she was given in marriage to Patricius, a highly respected citizen of Tagaste, possessed of some property. In her wedded life she proved amid difficult circumstances that the spirit of the gospel imparts to the human soul the love which, as is said by Paul, beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, and endureth all things. Patricius was a thoroughly good-hearted man, but extremely hasty. He was still attached to paganism, a painful fact for Monica. Then the latter lived the first of her married life along with her mother-in-law, who had no great confidence in her son's wife. Nevertheless, Monica kept the horizon of their domestic peace unclouded, by her punctilious care for the household, by kindness and love, by meekness and humility. In like manner she endeavored, by kindly visits, to strengthen the unity of other households, or restore peace where strife had entered. Her most fervent desire was to gain her husband over to Christianity, and to see her children, among them her loved Augustine, safe, through a consciousness awakened in them of a heavenly Father and Redeemer. Patricius, feeling the worth of such a wife, suffered himself to be led by her. He raised no opposition to their children being instructed in the Christian faith, and afterwards baptized, and at last was himself baptized in the Redeemer's name.

Death of her husband. Soon afterwards he died, when his son Augustine had just entered his seventeenth year. It was a comforting thought to Monica that her husband, whom she loved so tenderly, for whose salvation she offered so many heart-felt prayers, had died in the faith in which she had found everlasting life.

After the death of Patricius, Monica lived like the widow of whom the Scripture says: "She is a widow, indeed, who is desolate, trusteth in God, and continueth in supplications and prayers night and day." She had no thought of marrying again. By the side of Patricius' grave, she marked the place where she would one day be buried. She was untiring in her devotions and deeds of piety. The word of God was her refreshment, prayer the breath of her life. She went twice every day to church, morning and evening, to listen to God's holy Word and to pray. She let no day pass that she did not lay her gift on the altar. She was often seen visiting the tombs of the martyrs, bringing gifts that she might celebrate the love feasts, then customary in the North African church. She relieved the needs of the saints; according to her means she gave alms to the poor. For her children she toiled and prayed with tender solicitude. She had given them birth into this transient life, and longed to secure them birth into the life eternal. She felt, as Augustine expressed it, mental birth-throes whenever she saw her children deviating from the way of God. Many a pang did her mother heart suffer, as she beheld the son on whom she had lavished her affection, to

whose promising disposition she had attached so much hope, plunged into an abyss of depravity, lust, and unbelief. Her after-life connects itself closely with her son Augustine's, and exhibits to us mother love, in one of its offices, seeking to save an erring son from destruction. Therefore, to have a true picture of her life, we must cast a glance at that of Augustine.

Augustine's mind, in boyhood, had received a deep impression from the piety of his mother's daily life. He opened his heart to the preaching of the gospel. His childish piety was instanced when, upon his suffering a severe attack of illness, he earnestly begged of his mother to be baptized. Whilst preparations were making for the sacrament, the boy recovered. The baptism was therefore put off, according to the view of that age that it was well that baptismal grace, as a means of cleansing from all sin, be saved until riper years. To this first period of childish piety there succeeded a time in Augustine's life when passions and pleasures made havoc of his youth. This was in his seventeenth year, when he returned home from Madaura, where his decided talents had received development in the study of literature and rhetoric, and was preparing to attend the academy of sciences at Carthage. His dissolute tendency increased more than ever after the death of his father. There was added to his mother's sorrow over the sensual ^{sorrow over her} life of her son the pain of seeing him utterly alienated from ^{son.} the Christian faith, and embracing Manicheism, a mixture of the doctrines of Christianity with paganism and fantastic natural philosophy. How must it have cut her to the heart, attached as she was to the church, and finding through it the way of happiness, to hear from her own son words of scorn and contempt at what was to her most sacred! Her tears fell, her prayers ascended unceasingly for her lost child. But at last, so great was the horror of the gentle woman at her son's degradation that she was on the point of separating from him and leaving him to his fate. Then was given her a voice of comfort, and a hope that the wanderer might yet be rescued; she felt an impulse to surround him more than ever with her heart's love. This comfort reached her bowed soul when, in answer to her lamentations, a bishop once exclaimed: How is it possible that the son of so many tears should be lost! At another time, she was greatly comforted by a vision. It seemed to her as though she stood weeping, when a youth of brilliant aspect and gentle countenance approached, and demanded the cause of her tears. "I am weeping," replied she, "over the ruin of my son." Then he bade her cease wailing and look up. Where she would be, there should her son be also. Monica gazed upward, and lo, Augustine was standing at her side. She saw therein a sign from Heaven that she was not to withdraw from her son. With hopeful love she betook herself anew to her prayers. Her hope was severely tested. Her tears were not regarded by Augustine.

He preferred to separate himself from her weeping, and one evening left the wailing mother, who in vain sought to detain or to accompany him, standing upon the shore of the sea, by the church of the holy martyr Cyprian, while he embarked for Italy, to seek in Rome a wider field of activity than he had found during the several years he had spent as a rhetorical teacher in Carthage.

A mother's heart seeking to win a son back to his faith in God and to life will find its way even across the sea. Follows him to Italy. Monica, leaving her home, followed Augustine. After a short stay in Rome, he had settled in Milan as a professor of eloquence. She found him gloomy and dispirited. The chains of his pleasure were galling him. He had broken with Manicheism, convinced that the promise of knowledge from the lips of a Manichean was only a vain boast. He was now doubting whether man ever could attain to true knowledge. Monica's quick eye discovered this change in Augustine. Grateful emotions towards God filled her heart; with quiet confidence she repeated the words, "I believe, by God's help, that before I leave this world I shall yet see thee a member of the church universal." Already the fulfillment of her earnest hope was in preparation, by the secret springing of life in Augustine's heart. He had been attracted by the preaching of Ambrose, the bishop of Milan. Gradually he saw the church's teaching in another aspect than it had before worn to him. The religious feeling that had filled him in childhood, now strengthened by deep thought, took new possession of his soul. Monica was a witness of that great transformation by which Augustine was at last brought back into the church's faith, joyfully resolving before God to forego earthly desires, and spend his life in efforts for the kingdom of God. She lived in Italy, devoting herself to the same employments and good deeds she had ever followed in Africa. She was so zealous at the time the Milan church was threatened by the storm of Arianism that often Ambrose, when In Ambrose's congregation. he met Augustine, gave him his congratulations on the possession of such a mother. In firm trust in God, she was anticipating the hour when her son should be restored to the church. At last came the hour, the longed-for moment, when Augustine, in the garden of his home, under the fig-tree, fell upon his knees before the Almighty, entreating, with tears of repentance, the forgiveness of his sins, and strength to live a holy life. Like a second Nathanael, he received from the Lord, whose loving eye beheld under the fig-tree the first Nathanael, the command to put on the new man in righteousness. How Monica's heart overflowed with joy and thanks when Augustine told her that God had shown him mercy, and that his earnest wish for the rest of his life should be gratefully to magnify the divine grace! Her dream was fulfilled. Her yearning motherly heart was given its desire.

Augustine, between the time of his conversion and that of his baptism,

passed some months in strict retirement at Cassiacum, not far from Milan, the country seat of his friend Verecundus. Monica accompanied him thither. She took charge of the housekeeping of the small but thoroughly united circle. Besides Augustine, there were at Cassiacum, Monica's second son, Navigius, her grandson Adeodatus, who was Augustine's son, and several of the pupils and friends of Augustine. She took an active part in the discussions on the loftiest subjects that can concern human thought and the soul's happiness, which Augustine held in Cassiacum, under the open sky when the autumn weather permitted, or else in some room of the country house. Her words, uttered from a soul of faith, excited the admiration of her hearers. Those were calm, blessed hours, breathed upon by the first gentle breath of holy peace that was wafted to the heart of Augustine, long tossed by the tempests of the world and of his own lusts. Monica had suffered many sorrows for her son, but her pain was richly recompensed. Augustine never tired in expressing to her his gratitude. "Truly, mother," said he to her once, "I firmly believe God has, in answer to your prayers, given me this mind — to prefer nothing to the search after truth, to desire nothing besides, think of nothing, love nothing." What unutterable feelings filled this mother when, on Easter of 387, in the church at Milan, her son Augustine, and his child Adeodatus, in the bloom of tender youth, were baptized, and received, the two together, into the communion of the church.

Their return to Africa had already been determined. Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber, was reached. The preparations for the sea voyage were completed. Soon the native shore was to be gained. But Monica was nearer her heavenly home than her earthly one. She had no anxious desires to bind her to earth after she had beheld her heart's wish accomplished in her son's baptism. Her yearning was towards heaven. She expressed this feeling one day, when standing at the window of their house in Ostia, with Augustine at her side. Her eyes rested on the little garden before her, while her thoughts were already in Paradise. They sought together in anticipation to rise to the glory referred to in the saying, "Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." Inspired words on the happiness of the heavenly fatherland poured from the lips of Augustine. Monica, stirred in heart, in the sense of her near departure, answered, "As for me, my son, I have no further delights in this life. I know nothing more to do here, nor why I am here now. There was one thing for which I wished to live, — to see thee before my death a true Christian. This God has given me beyond my desire, now that I see thee caring not for earthly fortune, and serving Him. Why should I linger here?" A few days afterwards she was laid low by a fever. Declining rapidly, she was often unconscious. "Where am I?" she asked. Opening her eyes, and perceiving her sorrowing sons by her bedside, she said,

“You will have to bury your mother in this place.” Augustine suppressed his tears, but Navigius sought to reassure her; she should not die in a foreign land; God would return her to her native country. It had been her hope to find her last resting-place by the side of her husband. In this sickness even this wish lost its power. “Nothing,” she would say, “is far from God, and I have no fear that at the last day He will not know whence to awaken me.” To Navigius she said, “Bury my body here, without minding, and do not grieve! But I entreat of you never to forget me when approaching the altar of God, wherever it may be.” She expired at Ostia, on the ninth day of her illness, in 387, in her fifty-sixth year, when Augustine was thirty-three. Augustine had to seek his home without his mother, who had left her home to follow him to a strange land. Her memory went with him; in God’s sanctuary her last wish was thought of by him, for his whole after-life was a remembrance of his mother. Often in dreams he saw her with celestial countenance, and he felt, as in her life on earth, that he was encompassed by her love. — E. B.

LIFE XX. AURELIUS AUGUSTINE.

A. D. 354—A. D. 430. IN THE WEST, — NORTH AFRICA.

THE fourth century of Christianity, following close upon the martyr centuries, proved a time of marked religious progress. The church spread rapidly and powerfully when acknowledged by the state and legally established. By an almost unbroken course of victory it brought paganism to its dying gasp. Yet there came many a heathen reaction. Though suffering a general decline, paganism intruded itself still into the details of every-day life, and even into the church. External strength and splendor were given the Christian organization. Its undertakings were sustained by the government. Its bishops in charge of its affairs were also given a share in the civil administration, which had not been allowed them as long as the state was hostile. The churches were richly endowed. Christian art was developed, especially in religious edifices and forms of worship. Theology reached its full bloom. Most of the church fathers, and by far the greatest of them, rose in the fourth century. Their works have come down to exert the profoundest influence on succeeding generations. There were not lacking serious doctrinal disputes and divisions. Arianism had to be resisted in the East, while a distracting schism rose in the Roman provinces of North Africa. This was named from its chief originator, bishop Donatus, of Carthage, and is known as the Donatist schism. Its leading design was the preservation and extension of the church of the first centuries by bald simplicity and separation from the state. As the schism progressed, it broke off,

by rebaptisms, all connection with the church in general. Other still older sects endeavored also to maintain and extend their existence. The Manicheans may serve as an example. But the church's chief danger was in her leaning on the state and yielding to secular influences. To oppose the latter, monasticism came forward. With something of the martyr spirit of the previous centuries it resisted church secularization. Practiced everywhere in hermitages and convents, it excited general enthusiasm. The church was apparently gaining unity and power throughout the Roman Empire, when there rose the migration of nations. To Rome it was a foreboding of destruction; to the church an opening of new paths of progress. This, then, was the century which, producing an Athanasius, a Chrysostom, with the Cappadocian Gregorys and Basil, an Ambrose, a Jerome, and a Hilary, also brought forth an Augustine. To him the first place must be given, at least among Western Christian fathers. His career will, as we shall see, reflect the period whose outlines have been given.

Aurelius Augustine was born in the year 354, in the Numidian town of Tagaste. His parents were Romans. His father, Patricius, was of a kind but impetuous disposition. He took no particular interest in Christianity, for although he was enrolled as a catechumen, he waited till near his death before he finally laid aside his paganism by receiving baptism. His mother, Monica, who was of Christian parentage, was a woman of decided piety. From her, Augustine received even in childhood the liveliest impressions of religion; he had less hindrances to Christian attainment in that his town, Tagaste, was one of those North African towns from which Donatism had disappeared. His talents were early remarked. It was his father's hope that his boy would attain a brilliant career of wealth and worldly renown. Though Patricius had no great fortune, he spared no expense on his son's education. He sent him to a school in Madaura, thence to proceed to Carthage to complete his course of study. The father's plan would have probably failed at his death, which occurred soon after, had not Augustine found a patron in a wealthy and influential citizen of Tagaste, named Romanianus, whose help supplemented the narrow resources of Monica. Augustine was expected to master rhetoric, and in this way attain distinguished position. Diligent in study, Augustine, whilst at Carthage, became exceedingly dissipated. The life of luxury and sensuality in that great and wealthy commercial centre, with its still abounding paganism, was greatly tempting to his excitable, passionate disposition. Dissolute comrades, also, did their utmost to plunge him into sensual excesses. When but a youth he had a son as the fruit of an illicit connection, by name Adeodatus. His unbridled life tended, of course, to efface the pious lessons of his childhood. In addition came another influence to turn him from the course to which his mother had directed him: he

made acquaintance with the Manicheans. By their perplexing questions and contemptuous utterances respecting the faith and doctrine of the church, he was so drawn off as to resign his place as a catechumen, and go over completely to that party. His slight knowledge of Christian doctrine could not quiet the discord excited in his soul by questionings respecting the origin of evil. To his unformed mind these objections to the Holy Scripture and his Christian belief seemed unanswerable. He was driven to accept the dogmas which supposed two eternal beings, a good and an evil, out of whose conflicts grew the world's development. For the Manichean doctrine rested more on fantastic imaginations than on philosophic reasons. Augustine found much of this teaching unsatisfying; the thirst for knowledge he had hoped to gratify still pursued him. He had parted with the faith of his childhood. He had lost the last support of morality, adopting the Manichean view that evil was something external, and imposed upon him by no fault of his own. Sometimes he was affected by longings for a different life, but never found in himself the strength to carry out his better desires. His condition and course of life caused his mother the deepest misery. She followed him to Carthage, and sought by entreaty to win him to a different course, but in vain. True he was more and more convinced of the insufficiency of Manicheism, in part by the study of astrology, to which for a while he devoted himself. Yet, knowing nothing better to substitute, he continued his Manichean connection when he had given up all hope of attaining in it the highest knowledge.

Meanwhile he completed his studies, and settled in Carthage as a teacher of rhetoric. He had many an affectionate disciple, among them a young man of Tagaste, Alypius, who through long years proved his most faithful friend. But he was not wholly satisfied with Carthage, and decided to seek in the world's metropolis a larger and better field for his labors. He planned to deceive his mother respecting his departure, for he was wearied by her entreaties to him to stay. He was on his way to Italy, while she was lamenting in Carthage. He left also behind him his child and his child's mother. In Rome he opened a lecture hall of rhetoric, but did not meet with the success he expected. He added to his discontent at his position new troubles of mind. He not only found Manicheism untenable, but, misled by intercourse with the so-called academic philosophy, began to doubt if truth could ever be found. In the hurry of that vast city human life seemed a thing tossed hither and thither, with no star to guide. In this forlorn condition he met with a change in his affairs that was of the highest importance to his inner transformation. By the influence of friends, Manicheans like himself, he was called to Milan as professor of rhetoric. In this position he secured a worldly support. He obtained, besides, larger recognition as a master in rhetoric. This outward prosperity helped him to a calmer

frame of mind. His study of Platonic philosophy gave him new light respecting knowledge. By its help he was led to the loftiest spiritual contemplations; his mind was stirred to lay hold of the truth. The belief was revived that truth was not beyond man's reach. Where to seek it he hardly knew, but gradually he was assured that he ought to look for it in the Christian church. His help to this assurance was Ambrose, who was then the bishop of Milan. Helped by Ambrose. This man, one of the greatest Western church rulers and teachers, was especially eminent as a preacher. Augustine often went to listen to the sermons of the famous bishop.

He was at first specially attracted by their rhetorical form, but soon, also, by their substance. He obtained new light upon the Holy Scriptures. He began to see that in his early hostility to the church he had occupied himself less with her doctrines than with his own prejudices and false conceptions. He found the views presented by Platonism offered him by the church also, but in a living, divine revelation, in a love that sacrificed itself for suffering man. He beheld the church in her grandeur, unity, extent, and unparalleled history, an institution of God, where man might obtain life and truth. Through the church's witness he found the Scriptures an original proclamation of the divine revelation; upon this secure footing he gave himself to the study of them, especially of Paul's epistles. Meantime, Monica had followed her son to Milan. Adeodatus and his mother were also with him. Monica, with exalted trust, never ceased her prayers to God for his conversion. As yet it was but half accomplished. His life and conscience were at variance; his knowledge created a fearful conflict between his spirit and his flesh. He longed for a life of devotion to God,—to put away his ambitious plans and fleshly lusts, yet he found himself fettered by them ever anew. The breaking of one illicit connection only opened the way to form another equally unlawful. He experienced hours of deep melancholy. His health began to suffer, and often he thought his death was near at hand. He was in this mood once when visited by a friend, Pontitianus, a warm, earnest Christian. Alypius, who, having devoted himself to the law, and lived for some time in Rome as a barrister, now resided in Milan, was also present. The conversation turned upon the monastic life in hermitages and cloisters. Augustine, who had never given the subject a thought, was deeply moved by the portrayal, by Pontitianus, of a life given to God in self-denial and renunciation of the world. He beheld in such a life the realization of his own undefined longings. He felt humbled at finding men, every way his inferiors in knowledge and education, giving themselves unhesitatingly to God; while he, with desire for spirituality, still gave way to his unbridled passions. When Pontitianus had gone, he remained deeply affected. Seizing Paul's epistles, with which he had just before been occupied, he hast-

ened with them into the garden adjoining his residence. Alypius followed him. The two friends sat silent in the garden, side by side. Augustine, with inner remorse, was reviewing his past life. He reflected what he might have been by the grace of God, and what he had missed. Out of the deep anguish of his contrition a gentler mood gradually stole over him; he felt that it was not yet too late; he might still be within reach of God's grace; he might yet pursue a new path in life. Over-

Becomes a Chris-
tian.

come by these emotions, he left his friend, and alone under a fig-tree threw himself upon the ground in tears, pouring out his heart to God, praying for the forgiveness of his sins. As he prayed, he heard suddenly the words, "Take and read," as if uttered repeatedly by the lips of a boy or maiden. He listened, and his soul was impressed with the thought that along with these words he was given by God a sign; and that opening Paul's epistles, which he had left with Alypius, he should find the will of God in the first place that should meet his eye. He returned to Alypius, caught up the sacred book, and read in silence these words from Romans: "Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying, but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ." He received then a seal that his sins were forgiven, and a command that he should now enter the way of life for which he had longed. He declared this to his friend. Alypius felt that for him, too, a like turning-point had come. Continuing where his friend left off, he read, "Him that is weak in the faith, receive ye," and applying the words to himself he resolved not to leave at this step the friend to whom he had till now been faithful. They hastened together to Augustine's mother to tell what had happened. Monica burst forth into praise and thanksgiving. Her prayers for her son had been answered beyond all her hopes. He not only would become a member of the church, but would resign his earthly expectations and desires, in order to live unreservedly unto God.

This occurred in the autumn of 386. Augustine renounced his professorship, giving as a reason that he purposed withdrawing from every worldly pursuit, and also that his impaired health no longer would endure the labor of teaching. The season of supreme rest that comes sometimes to a man's life came to Augustine the following year, comprising the period just before and just after his baptism. It was really the only period of rest in his life, for his early years, leaving out his childhood, had been full of the pangs of inner conflicts and sinful aberrations; his later years in part were stricken with deep sorrows of other kinds, in part oppressed by daily toils. When he had announced his decision to withdraw from the world, and was desiring first of all to spend a while in solitude, he was asked by a friend in Milan, named Verecundus, to find a retreat in his country home, in the neighborhood, at Cassiacum. Here, amid beautiful scenes, with a little circle of trusted friends, among whom

we know were his mother, his son, and his friend Alypius, he spent happy days, recalling the guiding mercies of God, and viewing the path opening out before him. He also occupied himself with religious and scientific studies and pursuits. He wrote several works, relating partly to his former occupation, partly to his progress in philosophy. He endeavors in them to present the truths that he had sought with such long struggle and found so savingly revealed in the church, and to make them a light to others. About Easter of the year following he returned to Milan, to make, along with his son and Alypius, the last preparations for baptism. On Easter eve they and many others were baptized by bishop Ambrose.

The time immediately succeeding his baptism was to him a glorious period. He was full of the thought of God's grace, he was melted in tears as the songs of the church fell upon his heart. But his tears were full of peace. His resolve to live the life of a monk must now be executed. He had thought even, after his conversion, of going as a hermit into some wilderness solitude. He found a voice within him resisting this purpose. He considered that even though he withdrew from a worldly life, he must not give up intercourse with others, and his efforts on their behalf. He thought that not the hermit's cell but the cloister would best realize the ideal life he had in view, and that in his native town of Tagaste he could most suitably seek for that realization. In the autumn of 387 he started for Africa. Monica, it was ordained, should not tread again her native shore; she died in Ostia. She had done all she could for her son, and was ripe for another world. Without the mother, who for him had left her home, but with her legacy of sorrow and of love, Augustine landed on African soil, at Carthage. Arrived at Tagaste, he gave the property left him by his parents to the church and the poor, reserving only sufficient for his necessities. With several of his friends, he then formed a monastic band having all their goods in common. Adeodatus was one of the number, giving great youthful promise, but died young. Meantime, Augustine, by the publishing of many a work, attained large reputation in his native country. This, with his renunciation of his property and his ascetic life, aroused the desire that he should take some church office. He did not cherish such desire, but preferred his life of quiet and independence, engaged in theological studies and pursuits in a community of like-minded companions. Thus thinking, he went on a journey (391) to Hippo Regius, to find there a friend of his and win him for his monastery. The bishop of Hippo, at the time, was Valerius, a devout, gentle old man of Greek origin, who used to lament that his want of fluency in the Latin made his preaching of so little use in his diocese, and who had thought of securing for preacher and assistant some presbyter who was qualified. When he was expressing his mind to his congregation,

Augustine chanced to be in the church, and the whole assembly, on hearing the bishop, cried out to have Augustine consecrated priest of Hippo. Augustine was confounded, and refused his consent, but to no purpose. He had to give way to their demands and come to Hippo as presbyter. He still, as priest, followed his cloister-life. Besides preaching frequently, he devoted himself to the work of his calling, and zealously continued his theological compositions. He gave his writings at first a philosophical turn; those against the Manicheans being controversial also. Now, in addition to expositions of Scripture and of doctrine, he was called into a discussion by the existence of Donatist disorders, for the diocese of Hippo was greatly torn by this strife. Augustine's experience, with which the view he held of the grand oneness of the church had much to do, made him consider the Donatist schism very dangerous. He became its strongest opponent; and to his untiring efforts its defeat may largely be ascribed. Thus four years went by. Valerius found his hopes fulfilled and exceeded, and feeling his end approaching, he cherished an ardent desire that, during his life, Augustine should be consecrated as his co-bishop, thus securing the better governing of the diocese by a hand that was known to be strong. At The pastor of Hippo. a proper opportunity he uttered his wish. The clergy and congregation of Hippo gladly assented. The bishops whose consent was required expressed willingness. Augustine's opposition was overcome, and he was made co-bishop with Valerius. There was in the affair some irregularity, for by church law two bishops could not rule in the same diocese at one time. For a long time Augustine was oppressed by the fact that his elevation to the bishop's office was in evasion of church rule. He was leader of the church of Hippo many years, and since the death of Valerius soon occurred, he was the most of that time sole bishop. Some time before, Alypius had become bishop of Tagaste.

Augustine, when made bishop, gave up his cloister-life, for he deemed that the constant intercourse with others, into which his office brought him, was not consistent with monasticism. He compensated himself by uniting his clergy with him in a common order of life, the principal condition being the renunciation of individual property. He became by this one of the chief authors of the so-called canonical life of the clergy. His name, also, lives in the history of monasticism, which as bishop he zealously promoted. In the long period of his episcopate, he displayed extraordinary activity. It was the more wonderful, inasmuch as his health was delicate. He bore the marks of age upon him before he became an old man. His taste had been largely for theological study, and the contemplative side of his calling. His office demanded that he should occupy himself with many external affairs. His life, which he gladly would have spent in retirement and edifying studies, became a constant warfare. He felt that he must resist sectarian tendencies

that existed or were springing up. Considering this position of his as a controversialist, also his frequent absences from his diocese in the church assemblies of North Africa, or elsewhere counseling and directing matters of church business; taking into account, besides, that he spent a great part of his time in dispatching the legal business that came under a bishop's jurisdiction; and remembering, too, that he preached frequently and at times almost every day, and carried on an extensive correspondence, and published before his death, in addition to sermons and letters, no less than ninety-three large and small volumes,—must we not count that his labors would have been extraordinary in the longest of human lives? He not only worked during the day, he usually gave a part of the night to toil. In his last years he was occupied on two extended works, toiling on one in the daytime, on the other at night. Not till he was an old man did he seek assistance in his office. Then he chose his young friend and pupil, the presbyter Eraclius, of Hippo, whom he designed to name as his successor. Eraclius was not obliged, as happened to Augustine in his connection with Valerius, to be co-bishop, but remained still a presbyter, yet representing him in all church affairs that did not demand to be settled by him in person. Augustine could thus apply himself the more uninterruptedly to the Bible and to theological works. He was granted very few years to enjoy this rest. His end was near at hand. His last years, too, were darkened by the events of the world's history that were then passing.

Augustine's importance to the church is apparent in his writings.¹ But

¹ The writings of Augustine extended over the whole field of ecclesiastical inquiry and erudition. Thorough master of the science of his times, he proves himself in his writings a leader in the profoundness of thought and penetration with which he grasped and exhibited the problems he had to solve. With great logical powers he showed inventiveness in setting forth the objections that could be urged against an opposite doctrine, as well as inexhaustible skill when refuting those of others. Joined with this intellectual quality his works show the living piety that animated him. Both these stamp his writings with an originality awakening and edifying at the same time. The same characteristics are evident in his sermons. The first of all his works is his great book "The City of God." In it all the rays of his genius and all the paths of his investigations meet together. The unfolding of God's kingdom in opposition to the resisting but sinking kingdom of darkness is portrayed to its eternal consummation; all this from the Christian point of view in contrast with his former Manichean standpoint. Augustine's polemical theology has three chief objects, Manicheans, Donatists, and Pelagians. That is, it is against that Dualism, which is also connected with Pantheism, against Separatism, and against Rationalism, in the sense of a shallow intellectual apprehension of the doctrine of salvation, which after its defeat before this, upon the doctrine of Christ's person, sought to build itself up again upon the doctrine of man's nature. In his controversy with the Manicheans, Augustine opposed to their errors the idea of a God, the conception of the creation, and the ruin of man's nature by his own guilt. Against the Donatists, he upheld the unity and greatness of the church, pleading for the hidden meaning of the sacraments, and uttering many heart-stirring words of love and patience. In this dispute, he allowed himself to be led into justifying the use of forcible measures for church objects, and hence his name is connected with the persecution undertaken in his own time and afterwards on behalf of the church. When the Donatist schism was almost at an end, in part by the power of conviction, partly by coercion and not without occurrences that profoundly affected Augustine, and when he saw quiet near, he was drawn into the still wider Pelagian controversy. The British monk, Pelagius, who gave his name to this dispute, in his travels through the length and breadth of the Roman Empire, became personally acquainted with Augustine, and at first greatly admired his course of life, his intellectual gifts and theological acquirements. But it was soon found by Augustine that Pelagius exalted man's nature in oppo-

that by which he shines most illustrious, is his complete overwhelming personality. The thorough union in him of a devout disposition with keen powers of intellect; his mental activity in its peculiarity of everywhere arousing, instructing, convincing, and edifying, — these make him not only to his own age, but to all ages, one of the greatest of our church leaders.

Augustine, even in his lifetime, was held by the church in most profound regard. He received adulations without measure, even to his disgust. His "Confessions," in which he tells God his penitent story to the praise of God and the abasement of himself, not only fulfilled his strong heart-desire to pour out his soul thus before God, but also his wish to oppose the overwrought praises heaped upon him. He felt constrained also, to subject himself to severe self examination, as he looked back over his many writings, in order to mark and correct whatever he had said wrongly. He did not live to complete this task.

Augustine now found himself an old man, having passed many toilsome and painful years. He was in hopes, with Eraclius at his side, to spend the last of his life in profound quiet. But instead he had to witness the train of overwhelming calamities that came on Northern Africa in the war of the Vandals. The movements of the migrating nations had repeatedly shaken the Roman Empire. Rome herself had been taken by king Alaric's Goths as they passed, but soon restored to the power of Honorius. This king, under whose reign the life of Augustine was mostly passed, had now died, and his sister Placidia held rule in the name of her son, Valentinian Third, yet under age. The prefect Boniface, a very distinguished Roman general, who deserved well of Placidia, was in charge of Africa. Feeling how great a support he had been to Placidia, he was the more afflicted by his recall, and was led to suspect a design against his life. Instead of obeying he raised the standard of rebellion, and called in as his allies the Vandals, then overrunning Spain. He had stood in close relations with Augustine, for he was not only distinguished as a statesman but as a friend of the church. Zealous

sition to the Scripture, and did not accept the grace of Christ in accordance with the church belief. Pelagius and his disciples denied a continuing guilt and sin in human nature from man's first fall. Human nature, in the view of Pelagius, is essentially the same in a newborn child as in our first parents. The grace of Christ was not conceived by Pelagius as a means of saving for those ensnared by the guilt and destruction of sin, but as a means of help, whereby divine love made the way of salvation for men more secure and complete. Opposing these views, Augustine taught the depravity of the whole nature of man by the first fall, the guilt of sin transmitted from generation to generation, and the inability of fallen human nature by its own strength to lead a life well-pleasing to God, or even to prepare itself for the attainment of God's grace. In thus indicating that man's salvation rested wholly on divine grace, he went so far that he not only traced every determination of the will of man to good to a previous inworking of grace, but also ascribed the acceptance or rejection of grace, not to a distinct self-determination of the human will in reference to that grace, but to the divine counsel, by which but a portion of men should receive that grace in effectual measure. However far the church has gone with Augustine's doctrine of grace, she has not wholly followed him in the doctrine of the divine predetermining and choosing, but keeping within these bounds of thought, beyond which Augustine was trying to go, she holds to the doctrine that the offer of divine grace is intended for all men, and that rejection of the gracious call is a crime of man's own determination

in his devotion, he had even thought, after the death of his first wife, of entering a monastery. Augustine and Alypius had dissuaded him from the step, urging him rather to devote himself to the welfare of the state. Now Augustine saw the rebellion of Boniface with profoundest sorrow, nor did he grieve only at the position taken by Boniface towards the imperial house, but at the dissipation of his habits. He wrote him a letter of earnest warning; it may have had its effect on Boniface personally, but it was too late to prevent the consequences of his mutiny. Boniface became reconciled to Placidia, but the Vandals who had entered Africa, under king Genseric, refused to withdraw, proceeding to subdue the country and winning the victory over Boniface. The horrors of a barbarian war were spread over Africa. True, the Vandals were Christians, but were, as Arias, hostile to the church of Africa. They had possession of all but a few of the cities, one of those left being Hippo. This they now besieged. Amid these calamities, Augustine waited with longing desire for death. It was his continual prayer, during the siege, that God would either free the city from its beleaguering foes, or, if He had willed otherwise, would strengthen his servant to endure his will, or else remove him from this world to Himself. The last portion of his prayer was granted. In the third month Amid wars, at peace. he was seized by fever and his strength soon spent. In confidential talk with his friends and pupils, he had often declared that Christians and priests, though they had sought salvation faithfully, should never leave the world without heartily confessing their sins. Feeling his end approaching he put in practice his precept. Ten days before his death he asked that the penitential Psalms of David should be brought him, then had them fastened on the wall near his bed, and read them with prayers and tears. He was to be disturbed the while by no one. He asked his friends to come into his chamber, only when the physician came, or when refreshment was absolutely necessary. As at last he came to his death-hour, his disciples and friends in Hippo approached his couch and joined their prayers with the prayers of the dying. He fell asleep on the 28th of August, 430, at the age of seventy-six, when he had been bishop of Hippo thirty-five years. After his death, the town, which had sustained a long siege, was taken and destroyed by the Vandals. The church library was saved, which contained, along with many volumes collected by Augustine, a complete set of his own works. The bones of Augustine were in the year 500 borne to the island of Sardinia, by the bishops who left Africa on account of the oppression of the Vandal rule. In the eighth century they were carried on to Pavia by Luitprand, king of the Lombards. The spirit of the man was borne over the whole church of the West, transmitted by his many writings. The church of the succeeding centuries in all her development has remained in living union with Augustine. — C. B.

THE CHURCH'S SPREAD IN THE NORTH.

PERIOD SECOND. CENTURIES V.-X. (OR FROM THE FIRST KNOWN CELTIC LEADERS TO THE SETTING UP OF THE CHURCH AMONG THE CHIEF RACES OF MODERN EUROPE). DIVISIONS OF THIS PERIOD: BEFORE THE ERA OF CHARLEMAGNE, CENTURIES V.-VIII. AFTER THAT ERA, CENTURIES VIII.-X.

LIFE I. PATRICK OF IRELAND.

A. D. 400?—A. D. 490? CELTIC LEADER,— BRITISH ISLES.

IN the village of Bannaven, between Dumbarton and Glasgow, toward the close of the Roman rule in Britain, lived a deacon Calpurnius, with a son Sucath, or Victor, who was afterwards known as Patrick or Cil-Patrick, that is, Church-Patrick. This was Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland. He was carefully trained by his father for the church, but at the age of sixteen fell into the hands of pirates, in one of their inroads on the coast. They carried him away to North Ireland and sold him as a slave to an Irish chief, who made him his herdsman. In the solitude of his shepherd life, weighed down by his misfortune, the heart of the young man turned to God, as he himself relates: "I was sixteen years old, and knew not the true God (that is, he had till then only an outward knowledge of Christianity, without experience of its saving truth), but in a strange land the Lord opened the blind eyes of my unbelief, so that I thought, though at a late hour, of my sins, and turned with my whole heart to the Lord my God. And He looked down upon my low estate, my ignorance, and my youth; He cared for me before I knew Him, and ere I could distinguish good from evil, He protected and comforted me, as a father his son."

After six years' captivity, Patrick found means to escape and go home. He recognized God's hand in the attending circumstances. Again, in his thirty-second year, he was so unfortunate as to be made prisoner by the sea-robbers, who were on every side devastating the shores of Britain, now forsaken by the Romans. He was taken to Gaul, but found opportunity, a second time, to return to his people. So quickened was he, as a Christian, by misfortune, that he was roused to an effort to impart his faith to others. His mind turned to the scene of his former captivity. He chose Ireland, familiar as he was with her language and people.

A Scotchman
in Ireland.

The story of his first visiting Rome and receiving from bishop Sixtus Third, the pope of that period, the Irish mission, is an invention of later times. In that earlier day there was no connection between Rome and the Irish church. The latter was developed in the same way as was the church in Britain, previous to the withdrawal of the Romans.

Patrick knew that the Celtic pagan priests or Druids of Ireland would be his foes. If he was to accomplish anything he must endeavor to gain over the chiefs of the country, before the Druids should count him an opponent. This he succeeded in doing. He also gained one from among the Irish poets, who by celebrating Christ in song contributed materially to the advancement of Christianity. During his captivity in Gaul, Patrick had observed the cloisters established there already, after the style of those in Egypt, like that of Cassianus in Marseilles. He now devoted the land given him by the Irish chiefs to the founding of monastic establishments in Ireland. His mission work endured much opposition from pagan chieftains and the Druids. He encountered it successfully, not only making a part of the island Christian, but leaving behind him, in his monasteries, schools that should extend his mission. He attained an advanced old age: some say one hundred and twenty years, reckoning three divisions of forty years, which are hardly to be accepted literally. He may have lived till between ninety and a hundred and ten, a not uncommon age in an active and enthusiastic monastic career. It may have been attained by Patrick, for his activity evinces an extraordinary physical vigor.

As the name of Patrick soon grew very common in Ireland, it is not strange that many things have been ascribed to him that belong to others of his name. The difficulties of his biography are increased by two other facts. The means at his command were insufficient to crush and extirpate the old pagan culture, manners, and literature, to the extent attained by the missionary preachers of Germany. On the contrary, the great political influence of the Irish lords endured, and their old songs exerted undiminished power. But after Christianity had won the day, their praises of pagan heroes were no longer in place. They did not suppress them, however, but introduced the holy Patrick into the song, or into the introductory verses, making him, as far as possible, their mouthpiece. So he grew to be the representative, in poetry, of Christianity. All Christian institutions and enterprises in Ireland, whose origin was unknown, were ascribed to Patrick. This is the first circumstance to be mentioned. The second is that when Patrick was made the Christian hero, there were sung in his praise songs that contained far more of myth than of history. The contents of these songs were embodied afterwards in his biographies. On their account some have wished to turn Patrick over entirely to the region of fable, banishing him out of history. But the notices of him in Irish poetry and the ascription of days

of fasting and like ordinances to him go back to such early times as to place the main features of his life and work beyond doubt. In the above a careful effort has been made by us to collect what is absolutely certain respecting him and his labors.—H. L.

LIFE II. COLUMBA OF SCOTLAND.

A. D. 520—A. D. 596. CELTIC LEADER, — BRITISH ISLES.

THE name of Columba in the Celtic, his own mother tongue, was Colum, or Columkill. Among the blessed men in the broad mission field of the earlier Middle Ages he is one of the most important and interesting. Distinguished by such excellences of heart and mind as belong to the greatest missionaries, he prepossesses us also by a humility, gentleness, and freedom of opinion which put him in contrast to the Romish monks, even as they were then. Adamnan's (704) detailed biography of him, written a century after his death, aided though it was by a work of Cumins (669), both disciples of Columba, is so disfigured by all kinds of exaggerations, and dazzling stories of miracles and visions, that it wants great care to separate the facts from the pious fictions. From Adamnan's legends, a few notices in Bede's history and in different chronicles, the following life-picture has been painted:—

Columba was of royal descent. His father Phelim, son of Fergus, traced his descent from the Irish king, Niell Naighiallach, that is, Niell of the house of Lorne. His mother, Ethene, came of the family of Lorne, one of the oldest of the clans of Scotland [among the Dalriades of Argyle]. His birthday is not known, but was between 520 and 523. The annals of Tigernach may be followed, which put his birth in 520 and his death in 596. He evinced as a boy such talents as became his noble descent. At an early date he was committed to the presbyter, Cruinechan, for instruction, from whom he received his first impulse to study and monastic life. "From a child he was enrolled for the warfare of Christ." His piety was further promoted in the society of Finnian, the bishop of Clonrad, who taught him theology, giving him the title of Sanctus. The young deacon was also called a prophet, for when studying in Leinster, under the aged teacher, German (or Gemman), he rightly predicted the sudden death of a robber who had murdered a girl before their eyes. Columba was little over twenty-two when he entered the monastery of Cluan-mac-nois, now called Clon, or Clones, on the Shannon, founded by Ciaran, whose favorite pupil he became. Columba's fervent affection for the learned abbot appears in an ode on his death, in which he names him the light of the holy island, that is of Ireland. The death of Ciaran occurred

(in 549) seven years after the establishment of the monastery, when his pupil was twenty-nine. Columba left the school soon afterwards. The impress he received from Ciaran can hardly be overestimated. During his seven years' stay in the cloister, he formed the plan of his life, taking his master for his model. He imitated him in establishing the monastery of Dearnach (now Durrough, in King's County), no doubt on the plan of that of Clon. How he was esteemed appears in a description by Adamnan, of the reception once given him by his Clon brethren. The colonies that sprang from Durrough reached, it is said, to a hundred. Reflecting what time and labor he must have needed for all this, we can hardly imagine, as some have done, that Columba could have visited France and Italy before he went to Britain, which was in the second year after the battle of Culdrevan (562), and the forty-second year of his life.

The question here arises, how it came that a man of noble descent and high position renounced his rank and gave up earthly distinction, to go as a simple preacher of the gospel beyond the barren, snow-covered mountains of northern Scotland, to races decried by the Romans for their barbarity. An easy answer is furnished when we consider that already Ciaran had preached to the South Picts (the Attacotti or Dalriades of Cantyre), and that Columba's mother was from a noble family of the same stock. In resolving to carry the gospel thither, Columba continued the work of his master, and obeyed the call of kinship. Yet his strongest impulse to mission work was his living faith in Jesus Christ, for whose sake he, like Ciaran before him, would become an alien (as writers of the Middle Ages have named him), devoting himself to the conversion of the heathen.

Before we look more closely into Columba's mission, we must note that the apostolic and evangelic tendency of himself and Ciaran brought them into conflict with the majority of the ^{An anti-Roman-}Irish clergy, who were Romish-like in their ways. Columba kept Easter like the churches of the East. His disciples afterwards held strictly on this point with their master. Yet the Scotch-Irish church which he organized had at last to yield upon it to the Romish. Nor does Columba need to be credited with prophetic power (such as is ascribed him by Adamnan), in order to explain to us his saying on a certain visit to Cluan-mac-nois, that "many contentions would rise in the church of Scotland out of these differences respecting Easter." "For certain trifling reasons, as afterwards appeared," his biographer further writes, "he was unjustly excommunicated by his synod." Yet the accusations raised against him could not hurt the renown of his universally accepted devoutness and even holiness. They were excited by divergencies of doctrine which contradicted the views of the Irish church. The differences may have been on the rule which Columba laid down for his in-

stitution in Iona, that "an abbot must not be a bishop." This was the view of his followers, also ; yet there cannot be argued from it any opposition to the office of bishop, as was held in the great contest in England on the form of church governments (1600-1700).

On account of the facts just stated, it must not be supposed that anger or unchristian feeling sent away from his home the great apostle of the Picts. One of Columba's captivating and lovable traits is, that with all his force of mind and untiring activity he was free from that passionateness and vanity which in some very noted saints have been the means of obstructing or frustrating great enterprises in the kingdom of God. By his divine gift of a sincere humility he disarmed the opposition of a savage king, and broke the power of a fanatic priesthood. For he encountered both as he landed, along with twelve brethren, on an island on the west coast of Scotland (Whitsuntide, 562).

The little island,¹ of hardly two thousand acres, was one of a group under the rule of Bride, son of Mailcun, the mightiest king of the North Picts, whose court was at Loch Ness. It was not chosen by Columba for his colony by accident. Before his landing, and afterwards, Iona, called by the Highlanders Druid Island (Inisnan Druidneach), was the ancient national shrine, revered as the burial place of the northern kings. The herald of the new faith pitched his tent in the midst of the camp of his foes.

Soon after arriving, Columba visited the king. The latter, perhaps, from superstitious fear of the priests of an unknown and mighty deity, shut the gates of his castle and forbade him entrance. The Druids, with their chief Broichan, the tutor of Bride, could no longer sway the king when Columba opposed them with a power that was more than human. In this connection the following story is significant in its pagan association. Broichan, who refused to give up a Scotch-Irish slave girl to Columba, in accordance with a prediction of the latter, was taken sick, but was cured by drinking of water in which there was swimming a white stone taken by Columba out of the river Ness, and blessed by him with the sign of the cross. After this the slave was liberated, and the opposition of the Druids died out forever.

Bride's conversion following soon after, there was nothing to prevent the extension of Christianity from Iona as a centre. The home of the mission was the convent set up by Columba and governed by him under a simple code of laws. Hither gathered to the Irish brethren the newly converted pagans and Christian pilgrims from afar, with not a few penitents attracted by the growing fame of Columba's holiness and miraculous power. The preacher carried the gospel, at first by an interpreter, afterwards by his own voice, far over the mainland and the islands. The

¹ The island was called in the Middle Ages Hy, Hyona, Iova, afterwards as now Iona, that is, Holy Island; also Columkill's Island.

extent of the work cannot be accurately told, nor can the order in which he founded a number of cloisters and churches (some of which Adamnan names). Among the places outside the district of Loch Ness, which enjoyed frequent visits from Columba, were the islands Hymbria, Hymba, Rechrea, and Sicia, now Skye. On all of them rose institutions which looked to the Iona cloister as their head. Columba himself hardly undertook distant journeys. But his disciples penetrated to the Orades and sought hermit solitudes on the barren Hebrides. There gathered at times famed Scotch and Irish abbots to Columba. One such assembly is reported on the isle of Hymba. Legend, too, connects Columba with Columbanus (often confounded with the former), the evangelist in the land of the Franks; with Kentigern, also, the apostle of the South Picts. At the great council of Drimceat, Columba mediated between kings. Aidan, the Scottish king who vainly strove in the battle of Degsatan (603) to check the attacks of Ethelfrith, the pagan king of Northumbria, received anointing from Columba. The latter is found, soon after his settlement among the Picts, at the court of Conall, the son of Comgil. Rhydrich, chief of Strathelyde, was his relative, as were the Irish kings. But however important for the spread of the gospel this connection of Columba with chiefs and monarchs, it had never raised Iona to the condition of piety and culture that was the admiration of centuries. That distinction could have come only from organizations maintained carefully and long, and steeled in the conflict with paganism, and from tried faith. The correctness of this assertion may be seen in Adamnan's "Life of Columba," when one has assigned to the abounding miracles their true value.

Next to Columba's life of trust is the fact that he was a man of prayer. Everything he undertook, great and small, he began and achieved with prayer; and after he had finished, he forgot not to give God the thanks. He prayed for his friends in scenes of danger on land or sea, for brethren in need, in pestilence and death. On the lonely hill which towers above Iona (called by Adamnan *Colliculus Angelorum*), or on the solitary sea-shore, he would raise his hands in fervent petitions for the monastery, for the heathen, and all whose need was known to him; or he would suddenly call the brethren together to solemn prayer in the church, because he knew that trouble was about to fall on some beloved head in a distant but kindred monastery. When once his faithful servant, Diormid, lay deathly sick, Columba prayed that for Christ's sake his faithful helper might live and survive him. It was granted; for it was Diormid that afterwards closed Columba's eyes in death. He blessed everything that came to him, even to the pail of milk that was presented for his blessing. Often he uttered the blessing asked of him with such a fervor that the hearts of the people were touched, sinners made penitent, and the penitent brought to seek the remission of their sins. He saw a man's character at a glance, recognized the impure

though in the holy garb of a priest, and could discern the person, however common his appearance, who might be made a useful instrument of the gospel. Thus his prophetic reputation grew, and created such reverence for his power that robbers lost their courage and murderers their rage. Severe to the evil and impenitent, he showed gentlest sympathy to the sorrowful; he was ready for every service by which he could win to Christ the heathen, whom he pitied for their poverty of both body and soul. An inhabitant of Mull (Malea), who was starving, stole a seal from an island where they were kept by the monks of Iona as valuable property. Columba secured the man's capture, reproved him for his sin, then presented him with some sheep that had just been killed, so that he might not again be tempted to steal, and recommended him further to his friend Baitben, then abbot in Campo Lunce. Once a pagan named Fridehan thought himself injured by Columba, in that the latter had ordered some loads of saplings to be cut on his ground for the building of a hut for wayfarers. Columba, hearing of his dissatisfaction, sent him six measures of barley, telling him to sow it regardless of the advance of the season. A rich harvest was the result, which gained the pagan to Columba and to Christianity. On the island of Reehrea, a violent dispute separated man and wife. The heathen husband applied to Columba, who persuaded them both to fast and pray with him for a whole day, when peace was restored. When a pestilence broke out upon the main land, Columba with his disciples failed not to meet it with the best remedies at their command. He took the victims of plunder and robbery into his protection, assisted the poor, and was everywhere benevolently active. Putting away self, he added sobriety and watchfulness to prayer and fasting. His piety wore the monastic character of the time, but was not self-torturing or unnatural. If we hear of him making the rock his couch, and the stone his pillow, we read of no inhuman scourgings, or systematic emaciations of the body. In the observance of the mass, which was rare, he introduced no attempt at miracle. He observed strictly the convent rules, as became its leader, yet was never arbitrary, but kindly subdued hearts by a noble, fervent eloquence. He persevered in his severe tasks, letting no moment be lost, praying, reading, writing, as well as laboring with his hands, putting forth great physical exertion. He taught the brethren to till the land and to eat their own bread (the baker of the convent was an Anglo-Saxon), and even made fruits grow on the hard soil. His care extended to the brute creation; as, for example, when he nursed a wounded crane for three days until it could fly; or when, on the day of his death, he caressed the faithful old horse that brought the milk to the monastery, while the animal seemed aware of his master's approaching end. He admitted the lowest and most despised to his presence. He went to the bedside of a pagan minstrel, whose calling to a Christian was especially odious, and by his

exhortation strengthened him for his last journey. With propriety could Colman (the abbot of the Northumbrian Lindisfarne, now Holy Island, founded by the men of Iona), at the synod of Streoneshalch (664), so fatal to the Scottish church, draw the attention of his Roman antagonist to the holy life of Columba and his disciples. God's Word, it was known, was the corner-stone of their faith and life. Their doctrines were founded, as Christ taught, on the testimony of Holy Writ. As true apostles, in simplicity, humility, sobriety, and self-sacrifice, they spread the evangelical faith on both sides of the Grampian Hills.

Columba had labored thirty-four years in Iona. The infirmities of old age were creeping upon him, reminding him of the journey home, which he had for four years been expecting. On Saturday, the 9th of June, 596, Columba, now in his seventy-seventh year, had Diormid, his faithful servant, lead him to the monastery barn, where he blessed the grain in store, thanking God that there was sufficient for the brethren after he was gone. His words grieved Diormid. But Columba bade him rejoice with him, for called by Christ on the Sabbath, he would go to his Sabbath rest at midnight. On his way home, he ascended the hill that overlooked the cloister, and with hands uplifted to heaven uttered a prophetic benediction over the scene of his labors. He then returned to the monastery, and went to the library, to continue a copy of the Psalms already begun by him. When he came to the words in the thirteenth Psalm, *Inquirentes autem Dominum non minuentur omni bono* ("They that seek the Lord shall not want any good thing"), he rose from his work, and said, "This ends the page, and I will cease here. Baithen may write what follows." (Baithen, long chosen by Columba as his successor, did really complete the copy.) It was now time for evening prayers, and he went with his brethren into the chapel. Returning, he lay down on his hard couch, and committed to his faithful servant his last wishes for the brethren: "This is my last commandment to you, my children, that ye should love one another sincerely, and be at peace. If ye follow the example of the good, God, who strengthens such, will surely be with you." These were Columba's last words. He lay silent till midnight. When the bell struck for the nocturn he rose, hastened in advance of the rest into the chapel, and sank on his knees before the altar in prayer. He was found in this position by Diormid, who hurried after him.

Death was already imprinted on his glorified countenance. Diormid tried to raise him up. His eyes opened but once, looking kindly and gladly on those around. His arm, as he tried to lift it for a blessing, proved too weak for the service. Diormid lifted the dying man's hand, its weak gesture declaring what his lips could not utter. So Columba died, in the act of blessing his brethren.

Three days afterwards he was buried. Three centuries later his remains were placed in the monastery of Dunkeld, fragments of his bones

being kept there in several shrines. The memory of Columba still leads many travelers to Iona, where the grand ruins and nine rows of graves and royal tombs would tell of him, though history were mute. The gospel is preached in Iona, as pure and free from error, ever since the Reformation, as in the time of Columba. Two churches, one Established, the other Free, with their respective schools, still make this small island the seat of living Christian faith, and of evangelic life. — B.

LIFE III. AIDAN OF NORTH BRITAIN.

A. D. 600 ?—A. D. 651. CELTIC LEADER,—BRITISH ISLES.

WHEN, in the year 600, Christianity was once more living and triumphant in the south of Britain, the north of England beyond the Humber was still in the pagan gloom of Druidism. The day was near, however, when, by a strange succession of events, Northumbria should be Christian. Edwin (son of Ella of Deira), robbed when a child of his father's throne, grew in exile to the stature of a hero, and at last was master of Northumberland. The pagan chieftain made his suit for the hand of the daughter of Ethelbert, the Christian king of Kent, and was not rejected. Along with her chaplain, the bishop Paulinus, a Roman missionary, she maintained Christian belief and life in the pagan court. Her endeavors at making converts were successful. Edwin, at the entreaty of his wife, urged on by the sagacious bishop, consented that his first daughter should be baptized. He himself soon followed (Easter, 627). The members of his court, the Druid priests, and thousands of his subjects received the new religion. Oratories and baptisteries everywhere arose. Northumbria was becoming a Christian country. Suddenly the promising field was trodden down. Edwin fell (633) in deadly battle against his hereditary foes, the Britons. Within a few weeks they burned down the churches, and proceeded to annihilate the English in North Britain. But within a year the people ventured battle boldly for their salvation. They called Oswald, Edwin's exiled nephew, out of Scotland, rallied to the cross planted by him at Denisburn, flung themselves with irresistible valor on the pagan foe, and vanquished him. Christianity was saved, and the church of Northumbria, guarded by a pious king, began a new career of growth, in entire independence of the church of Rome.

Oswald had been won to the Christian belief in Scotland. He had received it in the form in which the brethren on the island of Iona or Iona preached it. They, it was said, held to God's Word alone, rejected men's statutes, and adorned their doctrine with a consistent, humble life. Very naturally Oswald was desirous of obtaining from them an apostle

for his people. First there was sent him Corman, a man of ardent zeal; but his strictness and sour severity of disposition failed to win the hearts of the Anglian seekers after salvation. Cast down by the unfruitfulness of his preaching, he returned home and bemoaned to the brethren his misfortune. They were filled with pain at Corman's failure, and at the same time with desire to send assistance to the heathen. Only Aidan, however, saw the reason why Corman failed. "Dear brother," said he to Corman, "it seems to me that you have gone to work with your ignorant hearers too severely, and have not given them first, as the Apostle has commanded, the milk of gentle doctrine, till they were gradually nourished and strengthened by God's Word to the reception of more perfect teaching and the fulfillment of the higher commands of God." Aidan's quiet words impressed the assembly. All eyes were turned to him. All tongues declared that he was the man to be the bishop. It was decided to send him to the infidel, ignorant people, for he possessed, above all the rest, the gift of discernment, the mother of all virtues. So Aidan was consecrated bishop of Northumberland, in the midst of his fellows (635). His devoted ministry justified the trust that thus was given him.

Ignorant of the Anglian tongue, but furnished with the gift of discerning spirits, with a gentle philanthropy and sincere piety, Aidan left the cloister of Iona and its Abbot Segeni, and betook himself to the court of Oswald. He found awaiting him a reception more than brotherly. He was kindly suffered by Oswald to choose Aidan goes to England. his own residence as bishop. Remembering his beloved Iona, Aidan made choice of a little island on the east coast of Northumberland, named Lindisfarne, but since then, even till now, called "The Holy Island." Lindisfarne is parted from the main land by but two or three miles of sea, and in the ebb-tide can be reached on foot, and by carriage at low water. Thence Aidan made his missionary journeys. He went afoot, in apostolic simplicity, to the hovel of the poor and the dwelling of the rich, carrying them the gospel truth. He was often attended by king Oswald, who acted as interpreter. The king's houses offered him opportunities for beginning mission stations. Aidan would stop in them for days, and from them undertake tours throughout the country. Soon the rising fame of his piety and winning gentleness drew crowds of pagans from the neighboring districts of Scotland and North England to his preaching. Thousands were baptized. Plain baptisteries were built; gradually grand churches rose above them. The king's bounty endowed cloisters with lands, to secure the rising generation the benefits of Christian training and education. Aidan began his school with twelve boys, one of whom, Eata, became abbot of Melrose and the successor of Colman in Lindisfarne. The teachers were brought from Scotland. They were mostly monks, drawn by Aidan from the mother convent of Iona or

some one of its daughters, to support him in his preaching of the gospel. Thus the cloisters were schools of culture and centres of church life.

The women were not behind the men in religious zeal. Hild, daughter of Hereric, an uncle of Edwin, who with her sister Hereswith had taken the veil in Chelles, was called by Aidan to come home, that with a few pious women she might join in convent life on the river Wear. A year later Aidan placed her over the cloister of Hartlepool, which had been founded by Hiu, the first lady of Northumbria set apart by him to this life. Out of this she established in the course of years the afterwards renowned Whitby, which became so wealthy. Thus early the devout custom rose among English lords and ladies of not only establishing and endowing religious houses, but presiding over and controlling them. Thus was a union constituted between religion and earthly influences that gave an especial character to the public life of England throughout the Middle Ages.

As often as Aidan had to do with the great of the earth, he was very seldom a guest in their castles. When he could not decline the royal invitation he would appear along with one or more of his clergy, then betake himself again as soon as possible to his religious duties, to prayer in solitude and reading of the Scripture, to which he earnestly invited every one about him. He took presents from the rich and mighty, only to distribute them at once to the needy; or he would redeem slaves with the money received, make scholars of them, and train them for ministers. He would never court favors from the rich, lest he should lose the liberty of speech with which he rebuked their vices. Yet he gave praises when deserved. Once when he sat at Oswald's hospitable board, as they were about to begin the meal, an officer of the court entered, and announced that a company of beggars were gathered on the street, beseeching the royal alms. At once Oswald sent out a silver dish, its contents to be given to the poor, with orders that, when this was done, the dish should be broken into pieces and these be distributed as alms. Aidan was touched at seeing such goodness, and taking the king's right hand exclaimed, "May this hand never grow old." Evidently he used the words of the king's liberality, but they were understood by the faith of that day as a prediction of the incorruptibleness of the arm. After the king's death in the battle of Maserfeld (642) it was borne from the battle-field as a relic, and preserved in a silver box in Bamborough. Oswald's last breath was a prayer for his people.

Aidan was not behind his royal friend in liberality. An example may be given. Among Aidan's princely adherents was Oswin, the meek, lovable, and remarkably handsome king of Deira. He lived in close friendship with his neighbor Oswald, king of Bernicia.

Aidan and the kings.

When the latter had fallen, the relations between the two courts were disturbed. Oswiu, Oswald's brother and successor, took a mortal spite against Oswin, no one knew why. Aidan was pained at seeing it, and feared the worst for his favorite. The bishop had been presented by Oswin, out of sincere friendship, with a beautiful and splendidly equipped horse, to aid him in his long journeys and in his crossing of rivers. Aidan had used the horse but a few times, when, a poor fellow on the road asking him for alms, he dismounted from his horse and gave it to the beggar. Oswin heard of the excessive liberality of Aidan, and in a visit chided him in a friendly way. The bishop replied, "What say you, king: Do you estimate the son of a mare more highly than the Son of God?" The heart of Oswin was touched by the words. They remained in his mind during the chase in which he was engaged with his attendants. On his return he stood on the hearth to warm himself, gave a servant his sword, fell at the feet of the man of God, and begged his pardon. "In the future," said he, "I will never again sit in judgment, whatever or how much soever of my means thou givest to the Son of God." Aidan, in tears, raised him up. He was not merely melted by such willing humility in the prince. He had the thought forced on him that a prince so humble was too good for this world. Turning to the presbyters near, he said in Scotch, so that the others present could not understand, "I know the king cannot live long, for I never saw a humble king before. I conclude that sudden death will take him away; for this people is not worthy to have such a master."

Shortly after this occurrence Oswin fell under the fatal sword of Ethelwin, whom Oswin had bribed to his murder. The foreboding proved a prophecy. Aidan survived his royal pupil twelve days. He died in the beginning of the seventeenth year of his episcopate (August 31, 651), at Bamborough, a royal residence, near Lindisfarne. Here he founded a church, and adjoining it a room, in which he lived when he left the island, as he often did for the sake of preaching. When he grew sick a tent was stretched for him on an outside pillar of the church. Leaning against the column, he quietly breathed his life out. His body was taken across to the island, and placed in the churchyard of his brethren. When Finan, his successor, also from Iona, builded afterwards upon Lindisfarne the cathedral of Saint Peter, made of oak, after the Scottish fashion, and covered with reeds, the bones of the first abbot were lifted and laid at the right of the altar. When the third abbot of Lindisfarne, Colman, along with his Scotchmen, left the island forever (664), he carried a part of the bones with him. That wonder working was ascribed to Aidan's remains was in accordance with the spirit of the age and of the church that had enjoyed his labors. Bede gives Aidan, as an apostle of Northumbria, the lofty and deserved

title of a perfect Christian and teacher. Yet he blames him and the rest of the Iona brethren in that they were schismatics about keeping Easter.—B.

LIFE IV. AUSTIN OF ENGLAND.

A. D. 545?—A. D. 605. LATIN LEADER,—BRITISH ISLES.

THE name of Austin (or Augustine), endeared to the world of Christian thought by the holy bishop of Hippo, is made precious in the world of missions, also, by the apostle of the pagan Saxons. Ever since 450 (or twenty years after the death of the North African Augustine), the Angles and Saxons had been coming from the Continent to Britain for purposes of conquest. The old Britons, Celts by race, whom Julius Cæsar first had invaded, had now, as subjects of the Roman Empire, been acquainted with Christianity for centuries. They had felt the Diocletian persecution, though not severely, yet the race had never been imbued with the religion of Christ. Rather, like the Celtic race on the Continent, it had been hurt intellectually by the Roman power. Its ancient vigor had been crushed. Now that the Roman Empire in the West was gone, its protecting legions withdrawn, they were unable to defend themselves against the wild tribes of Picts and Scots pouring from the north. Hence Vortigern, the king of Kent, called in the Saxon sea-kings to his assistance. They came, and in fierce battles, with fearful devastations, soon conquered Southeast Britain, naming it Angle-land or England. As Christianity had driven out Celtic Druidism, so now the cruel worship of Wodan spread everywhere under the heathen Angles and Saxons. This handsome, strong, blonde, savage people magnified one virtue,—that of bravery in war. Their fearless enterprise trod the waves in tiny barks and terrified peaceful communities, as they came on them with their battle-axes. They never thought of mercy. They vented their wrath upon their foes, even of their own race, by putting them to the sword or selling them as slaves. Yet they bore in their fierce bosoms a large heart, and, as was shown in their brave, handsome faces, were a race highly endowed by their Creator.

The British Christians were not so depraved as to be unable to communicate some of the blessings of Christianity to their conquerors. While the towns were corrupt, the people of the country and the mountains were more pure. Since the days of Patrick (430), those of the Scotch coast and of Southwest Britain had, through pious abbots and the cloisters they founded, been given new zeal for holy life and Christian knowledge. Of especial renown was the British convent of Bangor, to which thousands of monks gathered, working with their hands, fasting, praying, and laboring for souls. But between victors and vanquished there was

Saxons in Eng-
land.

an enmity, ever kept alive by fresh wars, and hindering for generations any friendship between Britons and Angles. Far more natural were it for the latter to unite with the Christian Franks across the channel, especially after one of the kings of Kent, named Ethelbert, had married Bertha, daughter of the Frank king Charibert, at Paris (about 600). By the marriage contract the princess was allowed the practice of her religion under bishop Luidhard, who had accompanied her, and to set up divine service in a church which still remained from the Roman sword at Canterbury, then called Dorovernum. Not from France, however, were Christian missions to come to the Angles, but from Rome. The occasion of their rise is told by Bede, ^{How Austin came to be sent.} the Anglo-Saxon historian, rightly named the Venerable, in the following beautiful legend:—

Once upon a time there appeared some merchants in Rome with new merchandise, for which, as they offered it in market, they found ready purchasers. Among the passers-by was Gregory, who afterwards became pope and was given the name of Great. Seeing some youths of goodly form, fair face, and waving hair, who were exposed for sale along with the rest, he asked from what land they had come. He was told from Britain, where the people were of this appearance. He asked whether the islanders were pagan or Christian. The answer was made him that they were pagan. He sighed then, and said, "Oh, what a pity that men of such glorious looks should be ruled by the prince of darkness, that with such outward charm they should lack inward grace." He asked what the name of their people was. When told "Angles" (Angli), "Indeed," said he, "they have angels' faces, and must be made to be partakers with the angels in heaven." Further, he inquired from what province they had been brought. "Deiri," was the answer. "Indeed," he cried, "from wrath [*de ira*] saved, and to Christ's mercy called. And what is the name of their king?" "Aella,"¹ was the answer. At once he said, still with a play of words, "Then shall Allelujah, praise the Lord, yet be sung among them." He could not rest, but begged Pelagius, then pope, to allow him to go to preach salvation to the Angles of Britain. He obtained permission, and set out. But the people of Rome would not give him up, and obliged the pope to call him back.

Not long after that, Pelagius died, and Gregory succeeded him. He purchased in France English boys, of sixteen and eighteen years, who were captives of war, and brought them up in convents at Rome, to be employed for the conversion of their country-folk. But whether from the youths not proving fit for the work, or from his unwillingness to wait till they were mature, or from queen Bertha stirring him up, it may be, to take hold of the work vigorously and immediately, he re-

¹ Aella, king of Deiri, a little kingdom north of the mouth of the Humber, in the east part of what is now Yorkshire. He died 588.

solved to send to Kent a priest named Austin, his former comrade in convent-life, and with him forty monks.¹

In the year 596, the missionary, with his companions, took his departure. His task was not an easy one, yet his way over the land of the Franks was smoothed by testimonials from Gregory to the king and nobles, asking that needed help and interpreters be furnished him. The Franks, well acquainted with the life and manner of the Angles and Saxons over the channel, could hardly paint their rudeness and savagery in strong enough colors. They sought to dissuade him from a perilous enterprise, which would certainly be fruitless. The picture had truth in it, but was overdrawn. Possibly the Irish, Scotch, or British preachers and exiles, from the bitter hostility between the Anglo-Saxons and them, had portrayed their foes and oppressors to the Franks in the darkest possible colors. The evangelists were frightened. Austin returned to Rome to tell the news to the pope, and to move him to give up the enterprise and recall his envoys. But Gregory instilled courage into him, persisting in commanding him to go.

Austin was a man of obedience and prayer. He went, and in the year 597 landed not far from Dover, on an island named by the Britons *Ruithina*, by the Angles *Thanet*. It is on the east coast of His arrival in England. Kent, where the Thames mingles with the ocean. The spot, celebrated as fruitful and fertile, is hardly to be recognized as an island now, for it is separated from the main land only by a brook (*Wantsum River*), which flows between *Ramsgate* and *Margate*. Mark! On this Isle of *Thanet*, a century and a half before, the Saxons landed; at first as allies of the Britons, but soon as their destroyers! Here the messengers of Christ, coming from Rome, landed, bringing salvation, — though not indeed without human additions and corruptions, — the cause of future wars and sorrows. From *Thanet* Austin announced to king *Ethelbert* that he had come from Rome to bring him good tidings; whoever would heed and obey was sure of eternal joy in heaven, and an everlasting kingdom in the company of the true God. The king assigned him the Isle of *Thanet* for a residence, provided him and his companions with necessaries, but bade him wait till he had considered the matter and come to a conclusion. Not long after, he betook himself, with his retinue, to the island, sat down under the open sky, and ordered the messengers of Christ before him. He would not meet them in a house, for his people supposed that if the strangers were at all skilled in witchcraft, they could, in a confined room, more easily ensnare and overpower him.

¹ Some time before, Gregory, who was of rich and noble family, and had held high offices of state, had devoted himself wholly to church service, and turned his residence into a cloister, for the training of monks for the church. He had in his mind a school of preachers and missionaries, after the notions and needs of that age. His house is said to have been on *Mount Coelus*, in Rome, which looks down on the *Colosseum*, and where now is the Church of *St. Gregory*. There, we may imagine, Austin was trained and prepared for his work.

The monks came to the interview with all the pomp of the church in Rome. First came a silver crucifix, instead of a banner; then a picture of Christ; then the procession of monks, chanting litanies and prayers, commending themselves and the Angles to the mercy of God. The king bade them sit down, and listened to their discourse. He then replied: "These are beautiful words and promises which you bring; but as they are new and doubtful, I cannot at once give them assent, and leave the old faith which I and the Angles have so long accepted. But as you have come as strangers from so far, on purpose, as it seems to me, to tell us what you believe to be good and true, we will not harm you, but give you friendly shelter and the necessary support. Neither will we hinder your preaching and winning any you can as converts to your faith."

Everything afterwards was in keeping with this friendly and sensible reception. The capital of Kent (Dorovernum, afterward Cantwaraburk, now Canterbury), which was near by, was indicated as a residence. Into it the missionaries from Rome entered with the same solemnities which had been observed at the first interview. At once they began amid fastings, prayers, and vigils to proclaim the gospel, receiving only the necessities of life, and showing themselves ready to meet everything, even death, for their belief. They were allowed to celebrate divine worship publicly in the church of the queen. Before long they won the king by the sweet promises of the gospel, by their holy walk, and by strange things that came in answer to their prayers. With many of his people he gave himself to be baptized. A great awakening followed. The king, rejoicing in the increase of the church, refrained from every show of compulsion, but welcomed the believing with hearty love as fellow-heirs of heaven. He had learned from Austin that Christ's service must be voluntary and not forced.

Ethelbert's baptism took place in the year 597 (at Whitsuntide). By the close of the year near ten thousand of his people had followed him; Austin, by Gregory's instruction, now went to the archbishop of Arles, to be made a bishop. The old church of St. Salvador at Canterbury, dating from the time of the Romans, was repaired and made a cathedral. Outside the city walls was builded the cloister and church of Peter and Paul; here and there arose Christian chapels. Austin sought from Gregory, to whom he reported everything, fresh assistants and instructors for his rapidly enlarging field. The latter did all he could, warning him, at the same time, against pride at his success and the wonders wrought by God through him. The Lord had let the unrighteous do wonders, and had said to the disciples: "Rejoice not that the spirits are subject unto you, but rather rejoice because your names are written in heaven." The new bishop used excellent judgment in his work, yet was hardly prepared for the questions of church worship and order that were presented, nor had he any one near

He christianizes
southeast Eng-
land.

him to consult. He perceived the importance of every detail in his field of labor. He had noticed differences in the services of the Roman and Gallic churches, although they both held the same belief. He inquired of Gregory whether he should bind the new English church strictly to the Roman usage. The answer was: "You, my brother, are used to the Roman way, in which you have been brought up. But I advise you, wherever you find anything pleasing to Almighty God, whether in the Roman, Gallic, or any other church, judiciously to accept it, and order the English church, so young still in the faith, after the very best way, embodying in her the choicest results you have obtained from many churches. For it is not the place which consecrates the service, but the service which consecrates the place. Therefore, choose from each church what is pious, right, and helpful to devotion, bind them together like a nosegay, and incorporate them into the church laws of the Saxons, to be received by them into their hearts." In this way the door was opened to the new bishop to accept many good things from the oppressed British church. Also the command of Gregory to destroy the idol temples was withdrawn, and Austin was advised to arrange them for Christian worship, and to dedicate the places of sacrifice dear to the heathen to the service of the living God. The day celebrated by the pagans with sacrifices of oxen and banquets, in honor of their gods, was to be an annual church festival for the glad remembrance of the saints, with sacred songs, and suppers in huts erected around the churches. Thus had the Lord condescended to Israel; for it was impossible to withdraw their hard hearts at once from their cherished customs.

No sooner was a beginning fairly made in Kent than Gregory wished all the Anglian part of Britain to be inclosed in the gospel net, to be incorporated with the Western church. Two archbishops were provided for, each to have twelve bishops. Their residences were to be in London and in York. The two cities were still under pagan kings. Yet the plan so full of faith was realized. Before one hundred years the entire nation was won to the Christian confession; but the archbishopric that Austin filled was connected for all future times with Canterbury. Two of the later assistants in the mission were made bishops: Mellitus in London, ordained by Austin himself, and Justin in Rochester.

When Austin was made bishop, he was charged to take an oversight of the surviving British church. Though weak in numbers, by the help of holy men, in cloisters closely united and prosperous, it had maintained its existence and preserved its independence entire, until that day. It was right in not considering itself a part of the church of Rome. Its tradition of Easter, its tonsure, which was not in the form of a circle but of a crescent, and many another peculiar custom indicated a different origin and also an independent growth. It

Austin and the
Celtic church.

was conscious of its own unfettered spiritual power. On the other hand, it had to admit that it did not differ from the Roman church in essential doctrine, and that it belonged to a nationality hopelessly declining; nor could it deny that it used the Latin as the universal church language, and needed union with some larger body. It had gone to South France, even in the fifth century, for help in its religious life, and for doctrinal training. But the gloomy consciousness of an unpleasant truth only whetted its opposition. A meeting was arranged by king Ethelbert (601) between the abbot of Bangor monastery (in West Britain, on the Isle of Anglesea, near Chester) and archbishop Austin. It was to take place at the half-way point between their homes, in the neighborhood of Worcester, under an oak, which was for this reason named Austin's oak. The abbot of Bangor, Dinooth by name, is said to have met a written proposition for his submission with a declaration in the old British language, as follows: "Be it distinctly known, that we, all and severally, are obedient and subject to the Church of God, the pope at Rome, and every true and devout Christian; are bound to love each one in his place with perfect love, and by every manner of help to prove ourselves, in word and deed, the children of God. Further than this, I am not aware that there is any obedience owing him whom you name pope, nor that he rightfully can or should ask to be called the father of fathers. All proper obedience we are always ready to render him and every Christian. Moreover we are under the direction of bishop Caerlio of Osea, who is our overseer, under God, in all spiritual affairs." These words, even though their authenticity be doubtful, fairly express the spirit of independence which possessed those men of God. They did not resign it, in the negotiations under Austin's oak.

Austin effected nothing, though he held long conferences, and with his companions poured out entreaties, warnings, and reproaches. The Britons stood by their traditions. At length, to put an end to this long and painful dispute, Austin proposed an ordeal, quite in accordance with the spirit of the times. Let a sick man be produced, and he whose prayers cured him would be the one whose faith and practice should be judged pleasing in the sight of God and deserving of general acceptance. The other side agreed, though reluctantly, and a blind Angle was brought in. The Britons in vain attempted his healing. Austin cured him by his prayers. The Britons acknowledged that Austin's way was orthodox, but yet could not give up their old customs without the consent of their brethren. A second meeting was agreed upon, in which their side was to be more largely represented. In this second meeting (603) Dinooth appeared with seven British bishops and several of their best scholars from the Bangor monastery. On their way they ^{The Celtic bishops and Austin.} visited a hermit, famous for his piety and wisdom, and inquired whether they should leave their traditions for Austin's doctrine. He replied, "If

he be a man of God, then follow him." "And how shall we know that?" said they. He answered, "The Lord says, 'Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of heart.' If Austin is meek and lowly of heart, we may believe that he bears the yoke of Christ, and teaches others to bear it. But if he is hard and proud, he is not of God, and his words do not concern us." Then they inquired further: "And how may we best know this?" "Arrange it," said he, "that Austin, with his company, shall arrive first at the place of meeting; then if he rise at your approach, know that he is a servant of God, and lend him a willing ear; but if he contemn you, and do not rise, you having the greater number, then you may contemn him also." The advice was taken. Austin did not rise, wishing not to yield aught of his dignity as archbishop. They took offense, accused him of pride, and set themselves to contradict him. Austin answered gently, "Though in many things you oppose our customs and those of the church universal, I will put up with everything, if you will agree with us in three particulars: 1. Celebrate Easter at the proper time. 2. Administer baptism, the sacrament of regeneration, according to the usage of the Holy Apostolic Roman Church. 3. Join us in evangelizing the Angles." But they refused everything, saying to one another, "As he would not rise at our approach, he will look down on us the more when we have made ourselves subject to him as our archbishop." At last Austin closed the discussion with these prophetic words: "If you will not accept peace from your brethren, you will be forced to accept war from your enemies. If you will not preach to the Saxons the way of life, you will suffer at their hands the penalty of death." To predict this required but a careful look into the condition of the Britons at that moment. The fulfillment came so strangely as to be regarded as by the hand of God. Austin died in 605. Eight years later, or ten years after the fruitless conference, the pagan king of Northumbria, Ethelred, fell on the Britons with a great army. The British priests and monks of Bangor fasted three days, gathering in the open air and praying God for victory. The British army was beaten. When it was told the victor how the monks prayed against him, he cried, "Then if they pray God against us, they fight us, even if they bear no weapons!" He caused, therefore, that they should be all slaughtered together, some twelve hundred men, and Bangor destroyed.

At a later day this cruel deed was repaid by British monks from the isle of Hy (Iona) preaching the gospel to the Northumbrians, and to king Oswald. In the year 664 came the peaceful union of the British and Roman churches. The gospel bore fruit among the Anglo-Saxons; yet a few centuries later they had to take from the Normans what they had visited on the ancient Britons.

Those who are disturbed in their minds at the history of God's kingdom not falling out exactly according to their ideas seek to detract

from the merit of Austin's work among the Angles, because he brought the Anglo-Saxon church into subjection to Rome. They do not reflect that the combat with Rome contributed greatly to strengthen and elevate the English people. Let us be vexed with sin, on whichever side we find it; God will judge. But blessed is the man who brings a pagan people to believe in the world's Saviour. Blessed truly is the name of Austin, the first archbishop of Canterbury. "He hath done what he could."—H. E. S.

LIFE V. BEDE THE VENERABLE.

A. D. 673—A. D. 735. SAXON LEADER, — BRITISH ISLES.

THE first centuries of the Middle Ages were to West Europe a dark and unproductive period. The entire Middle Ages may not be thus characterized; their beginnings may be so styled with perfect correctness. The Roman Empire of the West had been destroyed during the migration of nations by the Gothic races. The last remnants in the provinces were gone. The new Germanic states of Middle and West Europe were only beginning to develop. They did not indeed lack in the strength of young life, certainly not in its rudeness. The light of classic learning and art was extinguished, with but a glimmer here and there visible. A new life and activity in science and art had scarce begun in the nations lately possessed for the first time of Christianity.

When, in the midst of such an age, a man appears who not only faithfully guards the acquisitions of the past, but with sincere piety and warm zeal for God's cause makes his light shine among his fellows, he gleams with a double radiance against the dark background of his period. This was the case with the Venerable Bede.

He was of Anglo-Saxon race. What was the situation of his people and country? Divided in the several provinces of England, after the tribal divisions of the German conquerors, into Saxons and Angles, Jutes and Danes. The so-called Heptarchy still existed; of all the seven kingdoms (Kent, Sussex, Wessex, East Saxony, East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria), the most extensive by far was Northumbria, Bede's native country. At the time when, in the middle of the fifth century, the German tribes possessed themselves of the land, and drove the Britons, already adherents of the Christian church, to the western borders, they were themselves devoted to the Teutonic paganism. A century and a half later came Austin and his monks, sent by Gregory the Great, as missionaries. Three generations pass and Christianity is triumphant, though not without having first met many a severe discomfiture.

Bede was born at this epoch. The year of his birth can be told very nearly from his own statements. They are altogether the safest to go by, for the Middle-Age accounts of him are of little importance, and his own words tell us too little in reference to his circumstances. In a chronological table, which Bede has appended to his "Church History of the Anglo-Saxons," he says: "This is the present condition of Britain, about 285 years after the arrival of the Saxons, and 731 years after the birth of our Lord." The author mentions, in this same appendix, that he has attained his fifty-ninth year. He seems to mean the beginning rather than the end of his fifty-ninth year. This makes 673 A. D. the year of his birth. This is also Mabillon's reckoning. It was the third year, then, of the reign of Egfrid, the first king of Northumberland, after the provinces of Deiri and Bernicia were united in one kingdom. The dominion of this Saxon king was from the river Humber, its boundary on the south, as far north as the Frith of Forth, on which Edinburgh now stands. In other words, it included the south of Scotland and the north of England. One of the chief men of the kingdom was Biscop, who became a monk with the name of Benedict, and builded two monasteries on land given him by the king. The one, dedicated to St. Peter, was upon the north shore of the river Wear, near its mouth, therefore called Wearmouth. The other, called St. Paul's, a few years later in its origin, was at Yarrow, on the south shore of the Tyne, four or five miles northwest of the former. Both were under the rule of one abbot, and one set of laws. Because of the good understanding existing between them, they were, as Bede says, "like one monastery, builded in two places." Wearmouth is now known as Monk-Wearmouth, a town of twelve thousand inhabitants, opposite the busy seaport of Sunderland, in the County of Durham. Near its old church may be seen the remnants of the former monastery. The present village of Yarrow, in the coal district of Newcastle, possesses some old pillars and tombs near its church, upon which the convent monastery abutted. Somewhere in the neighborhood of these two monasteries, Bede must have come into the world, probably in the village of Yarrow.

Of his parents nothing is known. From Bede's short account of his life, we gather that when a boy of seven he was sent by them to the monastery of Wearmouth, to the care of the abbot Benedict. Yarrow did not then exist. When established (this was not till 682), Bede went thither, and remained in that convent the whole of his life.

No place could have been better suited to his untiring industry and thirst after knowledge. The founder and abbot of the twin cloisters, bishop Benedict, was indefatigable in his efforts to promote everything that concerned art, science, and letters. He had returned from frequent journeys to Rome, not only with stone-cutters and glaziers for the furtherance of his building, but with a taste for the liturgy and singing in

the Roman churches, as well as with valuable books, relics, and treasures of art. His collections were well guarded by succeeding abbots, and greatly enlarged. Thus a richer collection of books was at the command of the young student than was known this side Bobbio, Italy. Nor were good masters and teachers wanting. Singing, as it was practiced in Rome, he learned of John, the chorister of St. Peter's, Rome, who with pope Agathon's permission had (in 678) accompanied bishop Benedict to Britain. This man made such a sensation with his singing, that a great multitude from the country around poured into the cloister-church of Wearmouth to hear him. The monk Trumbehrt, who in his turn had been indebted to Ceadda, bishop of Litchfield, for what he knew, was Bede's instructor in the Holy Scriptures and in theology. Latin and Greek Bede had learned thoroughly. The knowledge of the latter language, in England, was due to the learned archbishop of Canterbury, Theodore, who came from the East, from the native town of the Apostle Paul. That Bede was well versed in Greek, we conclude from rhymes of his in that language that have come down to us, and also because he corrected the existing imperfect translation from the Greek of the Life of Anastasius, and republished it. He even seems to have had some knowledge of the Hebrew. But Bede achieved most through his own diligence and personal effort, and that in spite of the little leisure afforded him by his duties as monk and member of a cloister. He says of himself, "I have passed my whole life in the same con-
vent, have studied Holy Writ with all diligence, and, along <sup>In one spot all
his life.</sup> with my strict attendance on monastic rule and the daily singing, have ever deemed it a sweet occupation to teach, to learn, or to write."

This record indicates how monotonous was his external life. Its eras were his successive ordinations as he rose in official dignity. The deacon's office, he tells us, was given him in his nineteenth year; the priest's office when he was thirty, both at the hand of bishop John, at the request of abbot Ceolfrid. This John was bishop of Hagustald, now Hexham, in Northumberland. He is known under the name of John of Beverley, as the learned pupil of the archbishop Theodore, before mentioned. Bede's early promotion was a marked exception to the rule, which prescribed that no one should be made deacon under twenty-four or twenty-five years of age. The youth of nineteen is shown thereby to have excelled in knowledge and behavior by the judgment of both abbot and bishop, the latter a man of learning.

He had, however, arrived at the prescribed age of thirty when he was made priest. He was a priest in full orders. He could read mass, hear confession, bestow absolution, baptize, administer extreme unction, and preach. Higher than this Bede did not rise. He refused the abbot's office, it is said, fearing lest this distinction with its many cares might distract his mind from his studies. For as he himself avers, learning,

teaching, and writing were his best and most loved employments. He wrote a series of sermons on the Gospels, also numerous expositions of Scripture, among them sixteen commentaries and treatises on the Old Testament, and eight on the New. In his explanations he had to rely, as did all who lived in that age, on the works of the Greek and Latin fathers. These he interspersed with remarks, the results of his own close studies. Thus, after he had explained Luke's Gospel, when he had compared it some years later with a Greek manuscript of the New Testament (probably the one known since 1600 as Codex Laudianus or Uncial MSS. E.), he wrote a supplement, calling it *retractatio*.

Still he did not confine his attention to the Bible or to Bible lore, but extended his research to every department of knowledge, so that for the age in which he lived, he was a scholar in the very widest sense of the word. He studied and wrote upon Philology and Poetry, Physical Science and History. Of his poetical works he names two, in

Bede's books.

the catalogue of his writings, at the close of his "Anglo-Saxon Church History," a book of hymns and sacred songs in different metres, and a book of epigrams. Both are lost to us. The hymns inserted in his works are not his. Except the Life of the holy Cuthbert in hexameters, the specimens of his poetical powers left us are insignificant. His treatise on the art of poetry remains, but contains little save selections from ancient authors. Several essays of his on philology may be named: as that "On Orthography," quite a little dictionary; one "On Tropes and Metaphors," unfortunately confined to those in the Bible. His treatise on physical science, entitled "Upon Nature," embracing astronomy, physics, geography, and the like, or as much as was then known of them, may be named as a part of his works.

Bede's most distinguished efforts were in history. His chronological work "De Temporibus" and still more his "De Temporum Ratione" contain, for the age in which they were written, a truly marvelous system of chronology and survey of universal history. Bede, let it be noted, took up the reckoning of time from the year of our Lord, introduced by Dionysius the younger, a Roman monk, and by his authority caused its general adoption. Then he wrote the lives of several saints, among them of the pious bishop Cuthbert of Lindisfarne, and of the three first abbots of the double convent, Wearmouth-Yarrow, in which he resided. Thus he began with what lay nearest him, his own monastery and its twin sister, their first abbot, and the revered bishop of the diocese in which the convent lay. These he first treated. So when he decided on a church history of the whole country and people, he merely widened his vision. He made his "Church History of the Angles" a popular history of his land, considered throughout from the Christian standpoint. The book is a treasure for more reasons than one. While it embraces English history from the earliest times, it becomes of real value in treat-

ing of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, or of the period between 596 and 731 when Bede brings it to a close. He is to be especially depended upon in the closing period, from the end of the seventh century to the year in which he wrote, for he could speak then either from his own knowledge or from the abundant evidence of his contemporaries.

We have been losing sight of the man himself, in the midst of his learned productions. Yet we want especially to know Bede himself and his very soul. For we must not regard him as a mere scholar, having no other interest in life but books and learning. He was altogether too Christian for that. He led a life of prayer. He honestly purposed to be a true follower of Christ, that to him might one day (to use Bede's own words in a letter, the one described below) be addressed the sentence: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." The clearest insight into Bede's inmost soul is in a letter, which as seems to me has been far too little noticed, addressed by him to Egbert, the archbishop of York. Lately a monk, he had now been made bishop of that populous diocese. It was in 734, or perhaps 735, shortly before Bede's death, that the bishop asked the monk, his special friend, to pay him a visit. Bede was not well enough to do so, and excused himself to bishop Egbert in a long, characteristic letter. He speaks in this truly pastoral letter to his superior so modestly and affectionately, yet so convincingly and heart-searchingly, as to impress every reader deeply with his sincere piety. How does he exhort his bishop to magnify his office by his life and teaching, to keep his tongue from needless gossip, and to preach God's word in ^{Bede magnifies preaching.} his diocese, whithersoever he goes; and since it is not possible for the bishop, even once a year, to preach in every village of his charge, he shall appoint worthy pastors, who are to see to it that every member of the community learn the Apostle's Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, if not in Latin, certainly in English. And here Bede mentions, in passing, that he had himself given to several priests, who were ignorant of the Latin, the Apostle's Creed and the Lord's Prayer in an English translation. This letter is a striking proof of the watchful care which Bede bestowed on the church of his land, and his zeal to remedy her faults and defects. He laments that the number of bishops in the Northumberland kingdom is far too small, and calls on bishop Egbert, along with king Ceolwulf, to remedy the evil by creating other sees. He regrets that so many convents have passed into the hands of lay brethren, and been secularized and ruined. As the springs of all the abuses in the church, Bede plainly designates greed and covetousness. He presses on the bishop with emphasis the Lord's words: "Freely ye have received, freely give." In the whole letter the Scripture is mag-

nified. Not only does Bede refer the bishop to the Bible, recommending him especially to study Paul's pastoral epistles, but he cites him examples from the histories of Old Testament and New, and pours texts forth so freely as to assure us that he is completely versed in the Holy Scriptures. That he places the pastoral rules of Gregory the Great next the Bible, and makes a great deal of the sign of the cross as a means of grace and a defense against evil, does not change our judgment of him. We must consider the age in which he lived. We are impressed deeply, however, with this thought; if, in following centuries, his purity of mind, his watchfulness against the faults and sins of the day, his zeal against everything ungodly, and his fidelity to the Bible, had but been preserved, the church of the Middle Ages would not have gone so far from the true path as we know was the case.

Before Easter, 735, Bede's health visibly declined. On the Ascension day following, May 26th, he died. A favorite pupil of his, Cuthbert, afterwards abbot of the double convent, Wearmouth-Yarrow, gives an account, in a letter to the monk Cuthwin, of the last weeks of the life of Bede, and of his death. From the simple narrative rises such a touching and effective picture of the holy man, that it is worth while to contemplate it more closely.

For several weeks Bede had complained of difficulty in breathing. When this somewhat abated, he was in such a cheerful, joyous state of mind, that day and night, yea every hour, he poured forth thanks to Almighty God. He daily instructed his students, among them the writer of this letter. His leisure he spent in singing psalms. Even the night, save the short time when he could sleep, he spent in glad songs and in thanksgivings. As soon as he awaked, with outstretched hands he gave God thanks; and Cuthbert affirms that he had never seen any one who continued so fervently and incessantly in thanksgiving. He sang such words as "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God," comforting himself, however, with the later words: "God scourgeth every son whom He receiveth." He also sang a verse of a hymn, which he, an adept in his own nation's poetry, had put into metre, and which his pupil has preserved for us in Anglo-Saxon as well as in Latin. It may be rendered thus: "None, ere he goeth yonder, considers as wisely as he ought, before his departure hence, what his spirit has done of good or evil, and that sentence must be rendered accordingly." As Ascension day was near at hand, he sang chants appropriate to this church festival, as for example, "O King of Glory, mighty Lord, who didst this day ascend in triumph into heaven, leave us not orphans, but send us the promise of the Father, the Spirit of truth! Hallelujah!" On coming to the words, "leave us not orphans," he burst into tears, and wept long. After an hour he repeated the words as before. His disciples grieved along with him, now reading, now weeping, for at best

they could read only through their tears. But most of the time Bede was very joyful, and thanked God for his sickness, repeating, "Whom the Lord loveth, He chasteneth," and other similar texts. Besides singing psalms and imparting instruction, he was busied with two other tasks at this time: one the translating of John's Gospel into Anglo-Saxon; the other, the making of selections from Isidore of Seville. The day before Ascension day, his breath became shorter, and his feet began to swell. Yet he continued cheerfully saying to his disciples: "Learn as quickly as you can; I know not how long I may be spared, and whether I will not be soon summoned by my Creator." From this it was seen by them that he knew right well that he was soon to die. He passed the night wakeful, but full of thankful praise. At daybreak on Ascension day he urged his pupils to write with utmost diligence what they were engaged on. When, according ^{His last day.} to the custom of the day, they left him at nine o'clock of the forenoon, to take part in a procession, only one remaining, the youth said to him: "Dear master, there is now only one chapter left. Will it trouble you too much if I ask you questions?" "No!" was the answer, "take your pen and write with all dispatch." This he did. At three in the afternoon he sent Cuthbert, who wrote this account, to summon the priests of the convent to take leave of him. He divided among them his few worldly goods, pocket-handkerchiefs, incense, and the like, bidding each one separately to pray for him, and say masses for his soul, which they, weeping all the while, promised faithfully to do. He said, "It is time that I return to Him who made me, fashioning me out of nothing. I have lived long. My righteous Judge has ordered all my life well. Now the hour of my release is at hand. I desire to depart and to be with Christ." With such language as this he passed the day cheerfully, till eventide. The youth named before said to him, "Now, dear master, there is only one sentence more not translated." Bede replied, "Write quickly." Soon the youth said, "The sentence is finished." To which Bede rejoined: "It is well; you have said the truth. It is finished. Lift me up and hold my head in your hands, for I am greatly joyed when I sit opposite the holy place where I have been wont to pray, that sitting there I may call on my Heavenly Father." Seated on the floor of his cell, he sang: "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost." As he uttered the name Holy Ghost, he yielded up his spirit, and entered the heavenly kingdom. All who witnessed the passing away of the sainted father said they had never seen any one die with such devotion and so peacefully; for as long as his soul remained in his body, he sang "Glory be to God," and other holy words to God's honor, and praised the true and living God unceasingly, with uplifted hands.

Thus narrates his devoted disciple, Cuthbert, soon after the death of his honored master, which, as we have seen, took place Ascension day,

May 26, 735. His remains were laid in the convent church of Yarrow, where he had lived and labored. Soon after his death, his fame as a teacher, and as an example of genuine piety, spread far and wide through Western Christendom. Winfrid, who was his junior by only a few years, had the greatest reverence for him; in a letter from Germany, asking for some of Bede's writings to be sent from England, he calls him the light of the English church. Lull, Winfrid's pupil and successor in the see of Mentz, also begged copies of Bede's works, and sent Cuthbert, the chronicler of his master's death, when he was made abbot of Yarrow, a silken robe, then a princely gift, to wrap therein the remains of the holy father. Before the close of the eighth century, Bede was counted a saint; altars were erected in his honor, and May 27th kept as his feast day. In the ninth century the name "venerable" was bestowed upon him.

Many legends, which fastened on his memory, witness the profound veneration in which the Middle Ages held him. The following is one of them: When Bede had attained a good old age, his sight grew dim. One of his scholars was leading him. On coming to a place where a number of stones lay, his guide wantonly said that there were there a great many people assembled and waiting in utmost quiet that he might preach to them. And sure enough, the holy man preached a beautiful sermon, full of his wonted fervor. On his concluding with the words, "For ever and ever," the stones answered, "Amen! venerable priest." Therefore, the name venerable was given the sainted man. Later on in the Middle Ages the report went that the Roman bishop Sergius had written Ceolfrid, the abbot of Yarrow, to entreat him to send Bede, whose learning he esteemed greatly, forthwith to Rome; and that he did so, and Bede went to Rome. This rests, however, on utterly unreliable grounds. The fact is that Bede, his life long, hardly went beyond the precincts of his cloister, much less ever left his native island for a long space of time.

Very significant of the spirit of the middle centuries was the fate that befell his remains. The relics of one so generally and deeply esteemed were immensely attractive. Thousands journeyed to his shrine. It was a mine of wealth to the monastery of Yarrow. No wonder that the clergy of the neighboring cathedral of Durham grew jealous. So a priest of Durham, Alfred by name, between 1021 and 1041, succeeded in abstracting the bones of the venerable Bede from the church where they lay, and transporting them to the cathedral church of Durham. Somewhere about a hundred years later, a bishop of Durham, Hugh Pudsey, erected a magnificent shrine of gold and silver and precious stones, in which, with the bones of other saints, were laid those of Bede. In the sixteenth century, at the command of Henry the Seventh, this shrine was removed; whither Bede's bones were taken, no one knows. The

stone alone is left on which the shrine stood. To-day there is due a memorial from us, even unfeigned honor to this man, truly venerable, this unwearied teacher, this simple, childlike, pious soul. — G. L.

LIFE VI. ALFRED THE GREAT.

A. D. 849—A. D. 901. SAXON LEADER,—BRITISH ISLES.

THE king of Little Wessex is justly honored by the title Great, for he achieved as much in his sphere as Charlemagne in the whole West. He prevented his kingdom relapsing into savagery, saved a flourishing Christian civilization from ruin, and, by personal exertion beyond that of Charlemagne, sent broadcast the seeds of knowledge, at home and abroad, to his own and succeeding generations.

Alfred's race was royal, and, like many another of German blood, traced its descent proudly back to Wodan, the chief of the gods. Since his family arrived in Britain it had enlarged its little dominion by incessant wars. Only of late, after many vicissitudes, had it put away its paternal gods. Now, full of hearty reverence to the faith, it protected churches and Christian preachers, yet kept restlessly intent on enlarging its territory by annexing the small neighboring states. It was to Egbert, his grandfather, that Alfred, greatest of the Cerdikings, owed his position as the foremost prince upon the island. This same Egbert, once the guest of Charlemagne, could truly call the land which he had brought beneath his sceptre, England. He included in his kingdom the archbishop of Canterbury, the highest official of the British church. Bishop and prince together continued the noble efforts which Canterbury had made for two centuries to christianize the contending neighbors. Thus they succeeded in allaying the jealousies and strifes of the petty Anglo-Saxon tribes and dynasties. The kingdom of Wessex in the year 800 was the strong refuge of that blessed school of the gospel which produced a Bede and a Boniface. But under that same prince, Egbert, came pouring over the sea, upon the island, great swarms of untamed and pagan Northmen. They fell upon the sacred places of Northumbria, East Anglia, and Kent, allured by the church treasures and the precious spoils of established civilization. The Germans, now three centuries on the island and two centuries faithful servants of Christianity, were in danger of being plunged again into their old heathenism.

Ethelwolf, Egbert's son (838), was very unlike his father. He weakly suffered himself to be ruled by others. He let clerical greed and ambition take the reins, when prince and people needed most a valiant sword. For the Vikings were already, from their strong camps, extending their attacks into the interior. In the king's family there was a ray

of light, for there his wife, the pious and virtuous Osburg, held the sway, the daughter of an old Jute family in the Isle of Wight. In true womanly retirement she was devoting herself to the care of her children. After having had three sons and a daughter, she was given Alfred, her youngest. He was born (849) at Wantage, a royal estate, in what is now Berkshire. His name, Alfred, or the elf-instructed, points back to the old belief in elves and fairies. The parents lavished their love upon this child. One day, as the old authorities state, the mother was reading a book of Saxon poems, whose beautifully painted initials attracted the notice of the boy. "Whoever first learns to read it," said Osburg, "shall have it." Alfred took the book, carried it to his teacher, and read it the first. The mother, who gave the best of her being to this child, it seems, died soon after. The father, full of tenderness towards Alfred, took the boy with him (855) on a pilgrimage to Rome.

Travels on the Continent. The pope there blessed and anointed Alfred, adopting him as a child. An abiding impression was then made on the youthful heir of a long line of ancient kings. Yet that journey brought extremely mischievous consequences to the grievously oppressed kingdom. Ethelwolf was foolish in spending months in praying among the tombs of the saints, and in founding institutions by royal charity, instead of exerting himself to maintain at home his rule and his religion. Then on his way back, he visited Charles the Bold of France, and married his daughter Judith. Her coronation was celebrated there in a strange land, a thing not before known to the West Saxons. This made Ethelbald, the king's eldest son, left as governor by his father, rebel before the return of the latter. He proved the stronger, as appears from the division by which the bad business was ended. The son held the heart of the land, perhaps with a view to the attacks of the Danes. The father had to content himself with Kent, heretofore the portion of the heir apparent. Ethelwolf, a wretched ruler, died (January 13, 858) with spirit crushed, yet resigned to God's will. Immediately his coarse, wicked son took his stepmother to wife, but as he died (860) without children, his brother Ethelbert succeeded him, amid growing distress, the Northmen ever taking firmer hold upon the island.

Alfred had received his patrimony and was advancing to man's estate. He strengthened his body by hunting and military exercises. He could hardly obtain for his active mind more than the rudiments, since the last remnants of the noble schools of Wearmouth and Canterbury had been swept away. With great pains he mastered the simpler elements. When the third brother, Ethelred, ascended the throne (866), Alfred did not take a separate rule in Kent, but remained by the king, as his first nobleman. The storm from over the sea grew fiercer. Mighty fleets, under giant-like commanders, landed their crews on the east coast. The last independent principalities of Northumbria and East Anglia fell;

churches and cloisters disappeared. Their inhabitants scarce brought away their bare lives, with hardly ever a book or other help to science on their flight to the interior.

The king of Mercia, Burchred, in his sore distress, called for help to Ethelred, whose sister he had married. Possibly his request was discussed at Alfred's wedding, when he married (868) Ealhswith, daughter of a worthy alderman of Mercia. While at the feast, the prince was suddenly taken with an insidious disease, beyond the knowledge of the physician, which was to consume him the rest of his life. Yet with admirable self-command he rose above his pains, and stood by the king, his brother, in defense of their neighbors' inheritance. Soon, however, the savage enemy coming up the Thames, into the very heart of Wessex, the brothers had to exert all their strength to hold their own. They made gallant resistance in several hot battles, particularly at Escesdune (871). The preservation of the kingdom was still in suspense when Ethelred died (April 23, 871).

Alfred's anointing at Rome attained fulfillment in a gloomy hour. He took the throne only on sufferance; two of his brother's children still under age had, as was then often the custom, ^{Alfred is made king.} to give way to their uncle. The prince got neither joy nor blessing with his kingdom. Pains lashed his body; ruin threatened his land and people; the tottering kingdom of Mercia disappeared. For years Alfred struggled on in a doubtful contest skillfully and perseveringly. His means of defense continually dwindled, while the foe on every side gained a stronger footing. What could he achieve by a few victories by land, or sea, or by solemn treaties? His weary people were laying down their arms and submitting to the conqueror. But here and there a brave band abode in the forest, or some natural fortress, determined to sell their last possession, their lives, as dearly as possible.

The quarrels of the Saxons themselves, says a doubtful authority, caused their overthrow. Possibly the differences of Welsh and German or of the different Saxon tribes may have divided those who had held together so bravely. Certain charges against Alfred himself rest on still more doubtful authority. For deeds of violence against Abingdon monastery, the monks, it is said, wished him the fate of a Judas. In a letter of pope John Eighth (877), the king and his people are charged with debasing their land by corruption of manners. In an old legend it is asserted that the troubles were aggravated by Alfred's conduct; in a Welsh story, he expiates his guilt in the cell of a hermit. Be this as it may, from him came the decisive blow which effected his country's deliverance, the sword having never left his hand, nor hope his heart.

In the beginning of the year 878, he turned to the west, to well-watered Somerset. In Athelney, an island-like height, almost inaccessible from surrounding marshes, he easily established a fortress, and hid

there the wives and children with some little property. Thence he sallied out with a small band of brave companions in sharp attacks, depriving the robbing hordes of their booty, and waking in many a cottage the thought that their king was still alive. No wonder, then, that common report and legend spun many a colored web around his early years. A much safer witness than all the stories of the hair-breadth escapes of the king is the remarkable jewel found on the very spot where stood the refuge of Athelney, and still preserved in Oxford. It has this inscription worked in filigree, an unmistakable evidence of its age: "Aelfred mec heht gewyrean" (Alfred commanded me to be made).

As spring drew near, a stronger body of men marched out of the little camp; on the skirts of a forest the old standard fluttered once more; the men from neighboring districts hastened with revived courage to the side of their prince. In May, Alfred attacked the pagans at Ethandune; the enthusiasm and fiery courage of his little band bore down all before them. A few weeks later he took Chippenham from the Danes, one of their strongholds, whence they had inflicted much damage. In the summer, Alfred, by a treaty at Wedmore, obliged his terrible foe Guthorm, whom he had already deprived of Wessex, to receive baptism under the name of Athelstan, and settle in an Anglo-Danish state, on the farther side of the river Thames. Thus in a few months Alfred won back his land with a part of Mercia, the counties of Worcester and Warwick. But the greatest victory was that of Christianity over paganism. She alone had upheld Germans against Scandinavians, civilization against barbarism. For years, however, the danger was not over, for plundering hordes infested the country; the ravagers of the French coasts sailed up the English rivers. The baptized Vikings were such inveterate robbers that they many a time broke their oaths. Yet they were so chastised by Alfred that they feared his very name. A respite was thus won, which was employed by him in providing lasting defense. Alfred chose as governor of his new territories Ethelred, alderman of the Hwiccas, the husband of his noble-hearted daughter, Ethelfleda. These two, with the efficient bishop Werfrith of Worcester, unremittingly strengthened their frontiers against the Celts and the Danes. Like Alfred, they rebuilt the ruined towns. To the bishoprics of Canterbury, Winchester, Sherburne, and Worcester, was added London in Wessex. Several royal seats were turned into castles for the defense of the country.

Alfred's days of rest were given not only to removing the scars of war, and providing defenses for the future. He was, if possible, more intent on restoring form to the state and planting anew the germs of education and Christianity. In his time of splendid activity (884-892) he was influenced not simply by the traditions of his house, but by the precious Christianity of his nation in the past, and by the welfare of

the church of the future. His early visit to Rome had not been made in vain. Alfred, as his country's deliverer, raised the kingly office to something beyond what it had been under former monarchs. This was natural, since former relations had changed, and all other Anglo-Saxon rulers had disappeared. The aldermen (of Hwiccas, Somerset, Kent, etc.) became great rulers, high in rank, but not hereditary in their offices. The increasing power and dignity of the royal service added consideration to their titles. Distinctions of rank above the commons begin to arise. The *witena-gemot*, in which all freemen might appear, exists in its old importance. Its reports and decisions show that there were state as well as district assemblies called by the king and his governors, especially in Mercia. Alfred's lawbook, as the introduction tells, was compiled after consultation with the *witena-gemot*. It is noteworthy that these laws are based on those of Alfred's ancestor, Ina of Wessex. There were added, by reason of the extension of the kingdom, some from the statutes of the old kings of Kent, and of Offa of Mercia. There was much also that was new. Besides the old penalties and fines there was imprisonment. Treason against the king was visited with death. The bishops took a high position in the national council. An ecclesiastical element was thus added to the common law of the nation. Alfred himself having a high sense of his royal authority, and of the propriety of the act, placed the ten commandments, some Alfred's Bible laws. extracts from the laws of Moses, and the fifteenth chapter of the Acts (on the institution of the church of Christ) in the front of his lawbook. To superficial view this may seem very heterogeneous matter, but really there was essential progress attained by the Saxon state by its close alliance with the church.

With a strong hand Alfred, by his laws, gave new life to the execution of justice, sharply roused idle or corrupt judges, and dismissed those whose courts were disorganized. He elevated the clergy, whose degradation had helped on the general ruin. How had they lost their former inspiration, their ancient culture! Alfred calls up the past, sadly, in his beautiful preface to his translation of Gregory's "Pastor." He complains that now the Anglo-Saxons must seek help from abroad. Very few clergy, north or south of the Humber, can conduct a church service, or read Latin at all; south of the Thames he remembers, since his accession, not one. To supply the religious need, Alfred, as soon as he had a little rest from the Danes, communicated with the church at Rome. Royal presents and offerings were sent by ambassadors, which led the pope (Marinus) to exempt the Saxon school in Rome from future taxes. The messengers, also, brought about intercourse with the patriarch of Jerusalem. Interchange at this same time was sought with the old Celtic Christians, in the interests of intelligence and religion. Alfred had great trouble to find men fit to be bishops. Besides Werfrieth we know

only of Denewulf, of Winchester, and Plegmund, of Canterbury. So the king sent across the channel for men of worth; for in France there was some culture. Grimbald came, probably, from St. Omer; John, the old Saxon, from Corvei on the Weser. Both served as priests and teachers of the schools just started. Grimbald became abbot of Newminster near Winchester. John was over the institution founded in memory of the noble deliverance at Athelney. Above all of them the monk Asser, from St. David's in Wales, is remarkable, for his relation to the king. The precious fragments we have of the king's life we owe to him. Allowed by his superiors to be away but six months of the year, he yet became the friend and teacher of the prince above others, and was presented with rich livings, and at last a bishopric.

With helpers like these, there rose a school of learning in the court itself. There, as in Charlemagne's, the royal children with their comrades were taught Saxon and Latin, reading and writing. It was a model school for the nation. Alfred, in the preface already named, wishes "that all the freeborn youth of the country be kept at study till they take up some business." They could make a play of what was toil to him, since his thirst for knowledge had to contend with advancing years, bodily anguish, and a suffering country. They had in him a grand example, for like a hero he overcame all obstacles, and sat at the feet of

Asser, a most diligent scholar. Besides the Saxon songs
His books. and prayers which he collected and read, he took up Latin authors; he made for himself a common-place book. Possibly in this were those notes of the history of his house which were so often quoted by Middle-Age historians. Thus the royal pupil soon grew to be an author.

It is worth while to note the books translated by Alfred into Anglo-Saxon: Boethius on Consolation (more than any book of its age kindling sparks of lofty thought in the times succeeding), several works of Gregory the Great, the benefactor of Britain, and especially his "Pastor;" the "Chronicle of Orosius," friend and contemporary of Augustine of Africa, and the Venerable Bede's "Church History of the Anglo-Saxons," by far the best history of his own nation. All these books were carefully adapted as school books for that eager Saxon people. Nowhere does the king slavishly confine himself to the text; but introduces throughout, with naive changes, his own original views. He exhibits a spirit of reflection and earnest scientific inquiry, and adds long comments which are undoubtedly his own. His essay on the ethnology of the Germans, inserted in his translation of Orosius, and his two essays in the same, on the voyage of some Scandinavians around the North Cape, are of imperishable value to geographers. His preface to the "Pastor," that fresh, heartfelt effusion, easy yet concise in style, vividly paints the neglected land which Alfred would relieve, and is the grandest illustration

of his style. (The book was sent to all the bishoprics of his kingdom as a guide to the clergy.) One is surprised that in that age a prince so mighty with the sword excels thus as a student and author, makes himself the first prose-writer in one form of the German language, and, above all, the instructor of his subjects and of their children.¹ Alfred, to his people, when oppressed by the Normans, became "the Englishman's Shepherd and Darling." He cultivated the fine arts, especially in building up many ruined towns, churches and cloisters, halls and castles. Traces of the style and taste shown are, however, very scanty. Of the precious metals used for decorations or for vessels, the jewel already described is the only existing evidence. We have, instead, a circumstantial account of an ingenious lantern, made by Alfred to mark the time. Its sides were transparent horn, with wax tapers within, carefully weighed and marked off in inches. A practical inventive genius was one of Alfred's characteristics developed in the stern school of adversity. Joined to a fertile imagination and shrewdly applied, it exalted this Saxon chief above his kind as the harmonizer of varied civilizations.

From the acts of peace, never forgetting to strengthen his realm against the Danes on the east, and the Welsh on the west, Alfred was summoned again to war. Danish risings took place in East Anglia after the death of Guthorm-Athelstan. Defeated across the channel (by Arnulf, September 11, 891), the Danes poured in great numbers on the coasts of England. They sought to ascend the rivers, to winter and inflict damage as of old. But the Saxons met them, ^{His last victories.} very differently trained and equipped. Led by Alfred with his oldest son, and Ethelred, his son-in-law, they made successful defense. They dexterously divided the forces of the dreaded Hastings, beat him in the field, and stormed his intrenchments. On the sea, also, Alfred met them with his ships, as large again as theirs and manned by Frisian sailors. "Thanks to God," says the old Saxon Chronicle (896), "the pagans, this time, have not so utterly put the English to shame." In fact, the lesson they received lasted them as long as Alfred's spirit survived, or for an entire century. The king's death was due probably to the exertions which he had to make in his weak condition. Its date by the Anglo-Saxon Calendar was October 28, 901, when Alfred was fifty-two. His remains were interred in the family vault at Winchester, then taken (903) and laid within the walls of the new Winchester Cathedral. His will, witnessed in 885 in a state council, exhibits the attractive features of a refined and noble mind. To his queen Ealhswith he gives Wantage, his birthplace, and Ethandun, the scene of his first decisive victory. To his second daughter Ethelgeofu, suffering from her father's incurable

¹ His extended efforts have gained him the credit of other books; for example, the celebrated Chronicle of the Anglo-Saxons, begun perhaps in his reign, with certain Bible translations, proverbs, fables, and epigrams.

malady, he left the cloister of Shaftesbury. All his children, and those of his elder brother, had separate estates left them, his faithful servants in church and state had legacies, his serfs had their freedom given them. How his son Edward, and grandson Athelstan, reigned after him; how his granddaughter Edgitha became the beloved wife of Otho the Great of Germany, and his line continued in the rulers of France and Flanders, the history of the nations tells. Few kings can be compared to Alfred. In him nobleness and devoutness of soul are matched by energy; a loving heart by a far-seeing vision of God's purpose for his people and for mankind.¹ — K. P.

LIFE VII. REMY OF FRANCE.

A. D. 435—A. D. 530. LATIN LEADER, — FRANCE.

THOUGH we cannot call Remy, or any other, by the high title of saint, as Romanists do, we believe that he should live none the less in the memory of Christians. He was bishop of Rheims. He rises over a dark period, a man of talent and devotion; a chosen agent for a deed which was to begin a new era in our world's history. At a turning point, when the old Roman empire was going down forever, by his baptism of the mighty king of the Salic Franks he secured the adoption by the Germans of Roman and Christian customs; he gained a triumph in the West for the orthodox faith over paganism and heresy. His surroundings are imperfectly known; his story is obscured by legends and traditions; yet enough is told of him to furnish, when put together rightly, a fair portrait.

Remigius, or Remy, was of Gallo-Roman family; his parents, Emilius and Cilinia, were noble. They are described as devout persons and friends of the learned bishop and poet, Sidonius Apollinaris. Their home, as that of most Gallic nobles then, was in the district of Laon, where (at some country villa, no doubt) Remy was born, about the year 435.² He probably received his training in Rheims, where he lived, quietly devoted to study, till the death of bishop Bennadius (457).

His early ordination. Though just twenty-two years old, he was then proclaimed by the people the head of their church. After the still prevailing fashion, it was declared, in the public congregation, that he and no other should be bishop. He was worthiest by reason of his learning and his piety. He refused the office, for he was not of the age required for

¹ "There is an admirable modern life of Alfred ('King Alfred and his Place in English History'), by [this writer] Dr. Paul." (Green's English History.)

² Later tradition has surrounded the birth of this famous man with wonders. His future position and importance were declared to the pregnant mother by a monk, Montanus. His nurse, Balsamia, is honored in Rheims as *Sainte-nourrice*, in a church of her own.

ordination; but the popular voice compelled his acceptance.¹ The eloquence and power of his sermons, and his virtues by which he obtained the love of the people, are celebrated by Sidonius Apollinaris and Gregory of Tours.

Of more truth and interest than the features with which legend paints him, which must all be put aside, are the relations between him and the king of the Franks. Since the year 486 the Franks had almost subdued Gaul. After Syagrius had been defeated by Clovis, near Soissons, and the Roman power thus ended, Rheims, the second city of the province, fell under Frankish control. It had been long famed for its power and wealth. Christian churches adorned it. The government, civic and municipal, was inherited from the Romans. Here, as elsewhere, the defender of the citizens and their threatened interests was their bishop. When the enemy were plundering the churches Defender of his people. and distressing the people, Remy courageously met them. As the leader of the church, he maintained liberty and right against pagan violence. One circumstance helps us decide how little the bishop was influenced by fear of the barbarians. When he could not get back all that had been taken from the churches, he insisted on the restoration of a very precious vessel. Clovis assented, and in the division of the booty asked it for his share. A single Frank warrior opposed, and demanding that the booty, according to their law, be divided among all, king or no king, shivered the vessel with his battle-axe. Clovis said nothing. He took his revenge at the next review of his army, when he slew the warrior with his own hand. From Clovis's readiness to gratify the bishop, it has been argued that he was then not uninclined to be a Christian, and was a personal friend of Remy. There is nothing to favor the latter, and his inclination to Christianity is opposed by his bloody revenge on the Frank who maintained his people's right. Only this is proven, that the Christian religion was then not wholly unknown to that people. In many a way they had gained some outward knowledge of it. German captives returning to their homes, and Roman prisoners of war carried the news of the cross and the church to different parts of Germany, but the Franks got their knowledge chiefly by their conquest, for Gaul had long been a Christian land, with a prevailing Roman civilization and church worship. The church of Gaul was flourishing and powerful. In the ruin of the empire it alone may be said to have kept its position. Its bishops enjoyed marked esteem, not only in the church, but in civil and political affairs. Naturally German barbarism had to yield to the manners and the language of those whom they conquered. When we con-

¹ To rectify the transgression of the church law, a miracle is here introduced by the legend. A heavenly light fell on the head of the youth, and supernaturally consecrated him before all. Miracles are ascribed to him, such as the healing of the possessed and blind, quenching of a conflagration by prayer alone, and other works such as the fantastic faith of the Middle Ages ascribed to those whom it accepted as especial instruments of God.

sider the effect of a showy worship, of the splendid pomp of song and litany, of the already richly decorated churches, upon the fresh imaginations of the conquerors, coming from their dark woods; when we reflect on the effect of the aspect of noble men like Remy, excelling their own chiefs in knowledge, and made courageous and steadfast by their trust in God, and also upon the dispositions of the approachable barbarians, we can easily understand the influence which the bishop of Rheims, after the conquest, exercised upon Clovis and his followers.

His influence was facilitated by the king's wife, Clotilda, a daughter of the kings of Burgundy and an orthodox Christian, though her people were still Arians. She had already exercised herself to persuade her husband to accept Christianity. Strangely enough, while he refused he allowed his son to be baptized. One of his sisters, also, Lantechild, was a Christian, but an Arian. We may judge from these facts that he held heresy and orthodoxy, Christianity and paganism, about alike. It is possible that after his taking of Rheims, and making acquaintance with its bishop, the purpose rose to become a Christian after a little, and that he only delayed its execution in his doubt of its effect on the Franks who still were pagans. In his fight at Zulpich, when his hosts were giving way before the Alemanni, he for the first time vowed to change, if his wife's God, represented as so mighty, would only give him the victory. He won the day, and performed his vow, no longer doubting the power of the Lord. Even on his way back from his campaign, he received instruction from Bedastus, whom he met at Toul, and took with him to Rheims. Clotilda then begged Remy to be the king's teacher. Clovis said to the bishop: "I will gladly listen to this good father, only one thing makes me doubtful: my people may refuse to give up their gods. Nevertheless, I will tell them what I hear from thee." His example was fol-

Baptizes king
Clovis.

lowed by many of his comrades. They were prepared by Remy for their baptism. This came on Christmas of 496. Remy used every means, even of outward show, to exalt the sacred act in the eyes of the Franks. Mary's church was adorned with painted cloth; the odor of frankincense filled the room; many tapers burned upon the altar. A procession went from the king's house to the church, Remy leading the conqueror by the hand, amid the sound of hymns and the shouts of the citizens. A question which Clovis is said to have asked the bishop on the way shows how imperfect and sensual his Christian views were still. "Is this," he asked, "already that kingdom which you have promised me?" "No," answered Remy, "this is only the beginning of the way that leads to it." Yet the baptism proceeded, in spite of the imperfect knowledge of the royal candidate. Along with the king, his pagan sister Albofedis and many Franks were baptized. Lantechild, also, renounced her Arianism. During the baptism, the bishop addressed to the king the well-known words: "Bow thy head hum-

bly, O Sicambrian prince; honor what till now thou hast burned; burn what thou hast honored!"¹

What were the hidden motives that impelled the Frankish leader to abjure the old paganism of his people? Possibly, as with Constantine the Great, they were manifold, though hardly the same as with the highly educated Roman emperor. Political considerations, the expectation of gaining support in his further enterprises through the bishops, the hope of a more secure possession of the conquered Christian country, were no doubt weighty. Yet they are not enough to explain the notable resolve; nor could it have proceeded from a definite and full persuasion of saving truth. For that Clovis was far from being prepared. But in his home listening to Clotilda, in the battle with the Alemanni, and in the moment of baptism when the mighty Sicamber fell on his knees before Remy, his peer in strength of soul, the foreboding was uppermost in him that Wodan's kingdom was ended, the old gods must vanish before Christianity. The Franks bowed before the imposing figure of the bishop, whose height, it is said, was seven feet; barbarism bowed to the church. The latter won the race, through whom the West was to be born again. True, the Franks worshiped the God of hosts, more than the God of grace. But a beginning was made, from which, by the help of the Holy Spirit, everything would come in due time.

The zeal of Remy for the king's conversion has been explained on political grounds. No doubt he was thinking of the extension of the church. He rejoiced with the rest of the Gallic bishops, hoping by the baptism of Clovis to gain the victory for orthodoxy over the Arianism of the Burgundians and Visigoths. Bishop Avitus of Vienne, in Burgundy, along with others, wrote to Clovis, "We are victorious in your wars." But it were neither historical nor natural to ascribe to a man like Remy nothing higher than worldly motives. This is supported by the few letters of his that are preserved. When Albofedis died, after her baptism, Remy sent a letter of consolation ^{His letters.} to the king composed in a Christian spirit. When Clovis went against the Goths (507), he wrote him on the duty of a Christian prince, earnestly recommending gentleness, moderation, and justice towards all. The gospel, no doubt, was still strange enough to the rude German. He scarce knew what sense of sin and need of a Saviour signified. He committed his cruellest acts after his baptism. Yet, at moments, the better spirit ruled in causing him to submit to the representations and entreaties of his Christian adviser. He promised the bishop, after the Gothic campaign, to treat his captives kindly. Further, he showed his gratitude to

¹ According to the legend, the bearer of the anointing oil could not approach the throne for the crowd of people. At the prayer of Remy a dove appeared, bringing a vial of oil in his beak from heaven. This, it is said, was the origin of the sacred flask, the *sainte ampoule*, of which, however, mention is first made about the year 950, which served for the anointing of the French kings in Rheims Cathedral, till it was broken in the Revolution.

him by considerable presents. Remy still labored many years, seeking the conversion of the pagan Franks and also of the Arians, whom Clovis had subdued. He exerted himself to regulate the extending church. He trained apt scholars, who should abolish evil customs and establish beneficent institutions. He zealously guarded the rights of metropolitan rule, long exercised by the bishops of Rheims, and enlarged the possessions and liberties of the church. He died at a great old age (13th January, 530), having held his office seventy-three years. There are different dates for his birth and death; we have taken the most probable. He was buried in the Church of St. Christopher, which soon got a reputation for its miracles and was made an abbey. Pretended remains of Remy, teeth, hairs, etc., were revered in various places in the Middle Ages. They prove how he was kept in grateful remembrance for his long, blessed labors, though in superstitious fashion. We are more interested in his literary remains. Of his sermons none is extant. Of poetical writings there is only an epitaph on Clovis. This and the two letters already named are all we have. The testament under his name in which he makes the church of Rheims the chief heir of his property is hardly genuine, neither is the commentary ascribed to him upon Paul's Epistles. — C. S.

LIFE VIII. ALCUIN OF FRANCE.

A. D. 735 — A. D. 804. SAXON LEADER, — FRANCE.

THE man who is intended to be widely useful will seldom be found wanting either in natural talents or in opportunities of education. Alcuin, the son of a noble Anglo-Saxon family, born (sometime before 735) in the county of York, in Britain, was of fertile genius, and in the York school, the best then in England, was favored with a thorough training. His teachers were Egbert and Albert, who successively filled the office of archbishop. Through them the youth's ardent mind and aspiring powers were well nourished and directed. While bishop Egbert explained the New Testament, Albert taught almost every known science, and also the Old Testament. To him Alcuin, perhaps, owed most, even before Egbert's death. Yet he was like a son to Egbert, was kept near his person, and intrusted with his treasures, especially with the convent library, the increase of which, even at great cost, was the archbishop's great ambition. By Albert, however, he was taken as a companion in a journey which he made abroad, for the sake of bringing whatever he found that was new, in ideas or books, back to England. So Alcuin, when twenty years old, beheld the centre of the earth, as it then was, the city of Rome. He had a highly excitable and

A traveler.

every way susceptible nature. He yet silenced his passions by watching, fasting, and prayer. His natural man yielded under such discipline. His wild, impetuous impulses gave place to obedience and humility. He excelled his fellows in knowledge and penetration, in skill and activity, and also in disposition and manners. His mental activity, along with his quick appropriation of the ancient languages, especially Greek and Hebrew, eminently fitted him to be the teacher of others. Albert, prevented by his office as bishop from teaching as formerly, committed to him the control of the entire school, and the oversight of the existing library. Alcuin labored for years in the education of pupils, many of whom became renowned. Of all of them the best known, perhaps, is Liudger, bishop of Münster, the apostle of the Saxons. In this blessed but obscure position he was not ordained by God to remain. Apparent accident confronted him with his higher vocation. Albert died (780). His successor, Eanbald, a pupil of the York school, sent Alcuin to Rome, to obtain for him the pallium. He was obliged, on his way back through Lombardy, to make the acquaintance in Parma of the great Frank king, Charles, who had returned with his family from a winter in Rome. The latter burned with the warmest desire to bring the treasures of learning and devotion which he perceived in Alcuin out of the quiet cloister, and secure them for his court and kingdom. Alcuin now was nearly fifty. His life, devoted to study and reflection in perfect quiet, was little fitted for the bustle of the court. Nor were those propitious times in the midst of Charles's expeditions against Saxony and Italy. Nevertheless, he promised to come, after he had finished his errand.

He came to the Frankish court as he promised, three of his pupils following as his assistants. Charles at once appointed him a superintendent of the new school of the palace. Here, along with the training of the clergy, he devoted himself to popular instruction. The results of his efforts were soon seen. He brought around him a rare class of men, eagerly desirous of every kind of knowledge. Their association has been called an academy, though hardly so in reality. Under Alcuin's guidance the great emperor entered into a deeper understanding of the Scriptures, nor disdained to tread the thorny paths of ^{Teacher of Char-} ^{lemagne.} rhetoric and logic. Alcuin instructed Charles's sons and daughters, also. A pleasant intimate relation thus sprang up, as appears in their correspondence afterwards, which is still in existence. He was less attracted by Charles, the oldest son, the image and darling of his father, who was devoted to a secular life, than by the retiring and thoughtful Louis. By Pepin, the second son, Alcuin was supported once in an effort for the liberty of some captive Avars. In a letter to him, he speaks thus frankly and trustfully: "Try to adorn the nobleness of thy lineage by the nobleness of thy manners. Be careful to promote the will and honor of God, for his precious favor can exalt the throne of thy kingdom,

widen thy borders, and bring the people under thee. Be bountiful to the poor, kind to strangers, devoted to Christ's service. Reverence the church and her servants, whose prayers will sustain thee. Listen to old men's counsel, and employ young men's help. Let sober thoughts be in thy heart, words of truth in thy mouth, and exemplary conduct mark thy life, and the grace of God will ever exalt and defend thee." Alcuin's instructions, enjoyed by the princes, had to be shared with the children of the nobility. The learning imparted was solid, and for that age extensive, though partial and restricted in some departments. Besides the Scriptures the classics were taught, in a formal way, however, chiefly in verse-making. Logic, rhetoric, and grammar were made introductory studies. Mathematics and astronomy were cared for, and put to use in observations. Everything was subordinate finally to the greatest science, theology.

In spite of all, Alcuin was not at home in the military bustle of the court, and longed for his quiet English cloister. Charlemagne perceived his state of mind, and, not to lose him forever, gave him the oversight of two convents, though expecting to feel sadly his absence. Even thus his longing for his dear country was not quieted. The rudeness of the Frankish monks, and their want of receptiveness for science and art, disturbed him. Charlemagne had to allow him a trip to York, where, far from the Frankish court, he passed two entire years. Alcuin had forced upon him there the trouble at home, and the serious results of the Glad to leave England. civil commotions. Not only for this reason was he glad to return to the Continent; his conscience loudly summoned him thither to a conflict upon a matter of faith. Since the year 783 the Nestorian dispute had again risen. Should Christ, even in his human nature, be called God? Was He God's Son save by adoption? It was hotly discussed. Two bishops had taken the negative side. Even though a church council in Narbonne (788) pronounced their view heretical, the strife went on. King Charles wished the matter openly discussed at a German church-council, and his Alcuin, so versed in Scripture and in debate, to be the champion. Alcuin recognized a yet higher guidance. When in Britain he had been warned by a devout seer, as he himself attests, and also by his old teacher, that wherever he should hear of movements opposed to the apostolic doctrine, he must enlist to defend the truth. He hastened to the place of conflict, and justified the confidence felt in his skillful use of spiritual weapons. At two councils, held in Regensburg (792) and Frankfort (794), one of the opposite leaders, bishop Felix, was vanquished. The other, archbishop Elipandus, of Toledo, was away in Spain, then under the Arabs. He was not to be reached, and, judging from the abusive writings of the old man, he was not to be affected by any arguments. Still Alcuin, to prevent the weak being led astray, wrote a refutation of his opinions. He would

thus preserve the pious king from heresies. He would also make his logic (which Augustine judged indispensable in attaining definite conceptions of divine things) of advantage to the princes, in keeping their souls from manifold errors. Another contest, of about the same period, was not without influence on the king, nor without interest to Alcuin. This was the dispute concerning images, excited by the court of Constantinople, which maintained that the decrees adopted by the second Nicean council were necessarily valid in the West. Charles declared against them, and thus promoted the spirit of independence in the Latin church.

Alcuin was now persuaded to forego his old home. He found in France leisure for literary efforts, and a circle of experienced and cultivated men who gathered about him. He entered the convent of Tours. The monks were destitute of moral control and strict discipline. Even the abbot, the high chancellor of the imperial palace, was inclined the same way. On his death (796) the abbey fell into Alcuin's hands, just as he was then thinking to withdraw to the convent at Fulda. He at once instituted a different order of things. He set up a school, for he found teaching a necessity of his existence; in it he could exercise his gifts most actively and gladly. He brought the monks, who had been clearing the forests, planting vineyards, and cultivating fields, to attend to the field of the mind and to letters. They could also exercise their vigor in copying books. He felt the want of these sorely. He would fain bring the attractions of his native country to the land of France. How alive he was with anxiety for the prosperity of his school is shown by his reports to his friend, the king. In one of them he says: "I am offering to some the honey of the Holy Scriptures. Others I bring to quaff the pure wine of ancient knowledge. I nourish a third set with the fruits of grammatic art: and not a few I would enlighten by help of the stars. I am many things to many men, to bring very many to help God's church and adorn your kingdom. Then God's grace to me will not have been in vain, nor your liberality without result." At the same time he says of his desire for higher culture: "On every page of Scripture we are exhorted to attain wisdom; there is nothing by which we may better reach success or enjoy it when obtained; there is no defense against evil so effective, no possession so honorable, and in the judgment of philosophers no talent so necessary in ruling a nation, as well as nothing so helpful to pure conduct, as the ornament of wisdom, the renown of learning, and the influence of culture." Alcuin's wish for a greater library was satisfied. Agents went to York to secure copies; these were multiplied in Tours, and thus the chief library of France was furnished.

To his zeal in teaching was joined activity as an author. He wrote text-books on most branches of science, of which some remain. Expo-

sitions of Scripture, edifying reflections, life stories of good men, letters and poems in great number, fervent in spirit and pleasing in thought, all testify to his extraordinary activity. In his expositions he aims to show the profound connection between the Old and New Testaments. He was fond of the allegorical style of explanation, even to finding symbols in numerals. In classifying the sciences he blended the ancient and mediæval modes. He made three principal divisions, theology being one of them; the seven liberal arts he classed under ethics and physics.

When Charles the Great, preparing for a long absence in Italy, visited the shores of his kingdom (summer of 800), he came to Tours, and visited Alcuin. He must have discussed with him the most serious questions.¹ His stay was prolonged, for his wife Luitgarde, who was with him, fell ill there and died. The letters which Alcuin wrote to the king, still in existence, supported him in his affliction, with deep sympathy. The king sent him word from Mainz to accompany him, but Alcuin steadily declined. Charles proceeded to Italy, defending the papal dignity and punishing offenders, entirely after Alcuin's own heart. The youthful glowing desire with which he awaited the king's return

is a clear evidence of his intimate participation in his enterprise. One of his presents for Christmas, which he sent on to Rome, was a Bible, with the inscription that it was intended to honor his "imperial" station. He prophetically fixed the day (Charles was crowned emperor Christmas, 800) when the pope, restored to his office, would confer the imperial dignity. He was not aware that he was promoting such papal predominance as was afterwards established.

Thus Alcuin, so calmly devoted to religious work, was called to a part in political affairs, counseling and adjusting. This is further shown by the visit instantly paid him by the emperor on his return, when Charles saw Alcuin for the last time. Their constant correspondence proves the

¹ Alcuin was familiar with the political acts of his princely master. He healed the severed friendship with the states of England. He took an interest in that most important step, the assumption of the imperial dignity. He often freely called the papal power the greatest on earth. The Church of Christ was above earthly empire. Peter's chair was above a throne. Next, the Roman emperor of the East possessed the loftiest authority. Kingly dignity ranked below it. Alcuin was constrained to extol the Great Charles for his personal qualities. He revered him for his ability, wisdom, and renown. He would not hold him back, but rather gave him new incitement. This awakened the thought in Charlemagne of separating Rome and the papal office from the East, and binding it to his own empire! At the same time, the dominion of the Roman empire might be added to the Frank nation, by renewing the imperial office in the West. Such ideas agreed with Alcuin's opinions and desires. When, after the death of Adrian First, the hastily chosen Leo Third, hardly spotless in his conduct, was attacked in a solemn procession (April, 799) by an armed mob, and left for dead in a convent, Alcuin, who saw the church degraded in the pope, her representative, urged eloquently upon Charles to do his duty as protector of the church, and to restore her rights and dignities. When the pope, then under the protection of the Frankish duke of Spoleto, accepted Charles's invitation to his camp at Paderborn, Alcuin did not go to him because his health forbade his leaving home, but sent his counsel in the matter, by letters and trusted friends, and especially opposed the view that the pope's affair was rightly settled, until he had obtained for him the permission to clear himself, by oath, of the charges made against him. The result of this agreement between pope and king, kept secret for a time, soon became apparent.

same. There arose only one quarrel to threaten the weakening or dissolving of this beautiful friendship. There was a clergyman in Orleans whom his bishop sentenced, for some fault, to imprisonment. He escaped and found asylum in the monastery at Tours. The bishop had full power given him by the emperor to exercise force, and with an armed company entered the church. But the monks hurried to the defense of their asylum and sanctuary. The bishop's men escaped the populace, then, only by the monks succoring them, and taking them into the convent. Alcuin, when he heard of the result, was not displeased, but earnestly took the side of his monastery. When the emperor sent an agent to punish the participants and demand the man's surrender, Alcuin refused obedience. The emperor made the abbot and his entire convent feel his displeasure in a severe letter. While he condemned only the disorderliness of the brethren, he indirectly attacked and blamed the abbot. Alcuin was sensitive respecting that which he had made his chief care and greatest honor. Nor did he ever get over this grief. He died of an illness which he thereby brought upon himself, on the 19th of May, 804.¹

His life so blessed won him universal love and reverence after death. Throngs pressed to his dead body as though it were possessed of miraculous power. He was solemnly buried in St. Martin's Church, in Tours.

F. L.

LIFE IX. CLAUDIUS OF NORTH ITALY.

A. D. 750 — A. D. 839. LATIN LEADER, — NORTH ITALY.

CLAUDIUS, bishop of Turin, was born in Spain a little after 750. Half a century before, the very existence of Christianity there had been imperiled by the dreadful battle of Xeres (711). The Moslem troops had even come over the Pyrenees (719). There, at Poitiers, they met a complete defeat at the hands of Charles Martel (October, 732). They were pursued over the mountains by Charles the Great, who added a province in Spain to his realm, under the name of Godolauinia (Catalonia). In this north part, probably, Claudius was born. Here, certainly, he received his education. He was a pupil of Felix of Argel.² That he was influenced by him, however, is not told us; he speaks of his teacher

¹ The night he died, there was said to have been such bright light over the church as if it was in flames, or as if the heavens were opening to receive the departing soul of the devoted man. A hermit in Italy, it was said, saw at the same time a company of holy angels, and Alcuin in the midst of them, beautifully arrayed, making his triumphant entrance into heaven.

² On the banks of the Segre, which flows from the Pyrenees southwest to the Ebro, there still stands the fortress of La Seu d'Urgelle. Here in Argel Felix was bishop, a man not afraid of domestic strife, even in the midst of the afflictions of Christianity from her external foes, a suitable comrade of Elipandus (see p. 154). Deposed by the Frankfort Synod (794) from office, he found his life closing with neither position nor respect.

now and then, only to refute him. They had chiefly this in common, that they disputed traditional doctrines and usages. His master's favorite notions that the Saviour was God's son only by adoption, and that He was finite in knowledge, were certainly not held by Claudius. When Felix was living retired at Lyons (816), Claudius is found (the last year of Charlemagne's rule) dwelling in Auvergne, some ninety miles west, probably in Ebreuil, on the Allier, one of the four royal strongholds in Aquitania. Here he held the office of presbyter, and gave lessons in the Bible in the palace-school of king Louis. He found the culture of the Carolingian age at its full bloom. Fragments of the ancient Aquitanian learning, from the times of Hilary, were possibly to be found also, preserved through the ravages of the migration of nations on this ancient soil. After Charlemagne's death (814), Claudius acquired historic note.

Finds Turin his field. Under Louis, his old patron, he became bishop of Turin (820). Not only was he promoted by the pious king as a faithful servant, but was selected for Turin, with especial reference to the needs of the place. Claudius was to be there a man of war. The Italians were image-worshippers. Claudius was to help carry into effect the views upon images prevailing among the Franks. This was the starting-point of his reforms. His study of the Bible on his own account, far beyond most of his contemporaries, and the whole course of events around him, helped make him eminent as a reformer.

The anathema against rejecters of images (at Nice, 787) had been met in independent spirit in the Carolingian books. No doubt the saints whose images are the subject of debate pray for believers, therefore the latter should show them reverence; but no reverence is due their images, much less any worship. This doctrine of the Carolingian books was fully ratified by that Frankfort Synod which condemned Felix of Argel. It was attacked in Italy, but was now to be carried out by Claudius on the banks of the Po. The Turin churches were found by him full of images and votive offerings. Relics and crosses were worshiped. Pilgrimages were made to Rome. Claudius not only preached against them; he went further, and cleared the images and crosses out of the houses of God. The news of his enterprise spread away to France. His course was warmly discussed, and of course raised him up opponents.

Claudius, at the same time, had to be a soldier, even as Zwingle of Zürich, after him, of whom he reminds us also in his decided aversion to images in churches. There was a famous A soldier. haunt of Saracenic robbers, in those lawless days, sixty miles out of Turin, in Fraxinetum (Frassinetto), a little town on the Po, opposite the mouth of the Sesia, now the centre of a network of railways. By them the whole vicinity of Turin was made unsafe. And so, like the children of Israel when they rebuilt the walls of their city, the bishop

Claudius took in one hand his sword, while he held, not a trowel, but his pen, in the other.¹

We may here take a glance at his literary work. A large part of it was performed by him in Aquitania. He wrote three books on Genesis, in 814; the next year a commentary on Matthew. He gave an exposition of Galatians (816), dedicated to the abbot Dructerannus. He sent to king Louis, in 817, his work on Ephesians. In 821 he published his work on Exodus; in 823 on Leviticus. His style shows his nationality. His Latin is not pure, for there was approach already in Spain to the modern dialect. His exposition is largely allegorical, and so of little value to ourselves. He intends to find great truths; but he brings along with him his notions of what they must be, and so forces upon words lofty spiritual meanings, very different from the literal. He says, "As the Word becoming flesh was inclosed in a mean body, so is the word of Scripture limited by the pitiful form of literal expressions." He will not make use of profane literature: he has never mastered it. But he employs the writings of the fathers, whose utterances he strings together, one after another. His favorites are Jerome and Augustine. Knowing how much he owed to them, he tells Louis that he is a beggar, who has no harvest of his own, but gets his subsistence behind the backs of the reapers, out of the labor of others. He does not give his authorities as he goes along; when asked to do so, he refers to the general practice, which was opposed to it. Only Bede had so done, and he in only two commentaries. What decided Claudius against it was that repeatedly, after finding what he deemed an original thought in some writer, he discovered it had been borrowed from some other. Often he weaves together quotations, interspersing remarks of his own, as he says, to make a continuous discourse, to exercise the vigilance of the reader and avoid tediousness. In his expository endeavors he has a method; at least when a friend earnestly asked him to write on Leviticus, he refused, till he first wrote on Exodus. His friend, Expositor of Scripture. Theodemir (who was his opponent as well), reproached him, when he sent the latter book, with imposing Leah upon him, in the dark, instead of Rachel, for the abbot was eager respecting the Levitical ceremonial. Claudius replied that he must portray the scene of the sacrifices before he treated of the rites themselves. But he met the wish of Theodemir (who was abbot of Psalmodi, near Nismes) by sending him at last

¹ This image-breaking and soldier-like character leaves us few particulars of his private life. Though persecuted, his persecution did not end in martyrdom, which may be accounted for by the peculiar position of the Frankish church at that time. An embassy had come to Louis the Pious from the emperor of the East, Michael the Stammerer, four years after Claudius became bishop (824), asking him to help with all his might against the defenders of pictures, whom the pope was stirring up against him. A synod in Paris, that year, had taken ground agreeing with the former Frankfort synod, in opposition to images. It was at this time that the contest between Claudius and his opposers in the church reached its height. It included other questions besides image-worship. This, however, was the subject upon which he first differed with others.

his treatise on Leviticus. Yet not entirely, for he published in it his views on saint-worship, not altogether to the gratification of his anxious friend (823). In this book he held that a purely spiritual conception of God opposes utterly all creature worship. "By another's bliss no man ever became happy; through another's wisdom no one ever grew wise; through another's bravery no one ever was made brave; through the temperance of another none ever grew temperate; nor through another man's holiness was ever one made perfect." All salvation is from "imitating" or rather "appropriating the Unchanging and True." He expresses himself still more strongly to the same friend in his work on Corinthians, sent afterwards. This was laid by Theodemir before an assembly of bishops and chief persons, but without receiving condemnation. "The Lord forgive thee this deed," Claudius wrote to his faithless friend. Theodemir, with growing excitement at the course of Claudius, addressed him a warning against heresy. The latter, deeply irritated, wrote a long justification, in which he exposed the abuses in the church with marked severity.

Theodemir's letter was to him "prating nonsense;" only a fool could take him for a sectarian. On the subject in question, he takes the Bible prohibitions as absolute. To worship images is to lapse into idolatry. "You may change the names and outward appearance; paint a Peter instead of a Jupiter, a Paul instead of a Saturn; the appearance is different, the reality is the same." When you come to think of it, it may be strange; but ought we not, if the mind is bent on idolatry, rather adore saints when alive, than their images after they are dead? Of image-worshippers, the saying, "They worshiped and served the creature, rather than the Creator," is more true than even of beast-worshippers. The latter worship the works of God, the former those of man. "Thou who wert created upright shouldst rather look up to heaven, than bow down before images." Further, he declares that the picture remains a picture, even if it paints the crucifixion. He denied to the cross, which also was made an idol, even the place of a symbol. He declares: "Like
 Opposes cruci- the ungodly you take pleasure in nothing of the Saviour save
 fixes. the shame of his sufferings. Like the Jews and the pagans
 you would have a Christ not risen." Such understand not the Apostle's words: "Yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we Him no more." He reaches conclusions which are excusable, considering the harm threatened then in externalizing all religious worship. "If ye worship the cross," he says, "why not kneel to every virgin, for Christ only hung six hours on the cross, but was hid nine months in a virgin's womb. Worship mangers, too, for the Christ-child lay in a manger. Venerate swaddling-clothes, for in such the boy was swathed. Reverence boats, for on a boat He crossed the waves, on a boat He slept, from a boat He addressed the people. Worship asses,

for on such He rode into Jerusalem. Adore lambs, for it is written, Behold the Lamb of God, but indeed, the pious fools would rather devour live sheep than worship painted lambs. Worship lions, for He is the lion of the tribe of Judah. Worship rocks, for in a rock-tomb was He buried, and the Apostle speaks of that rock, which was Christ. Worship thorns, for He was crowned with thorns; and spears for sake of the spear that pierced his side." Claudius partly forgets the special significance of Calvary in Christ's life, and the need of a special symbol therefor. His conclusions but lead us to deem our life on earth, even in its minuter details, consecrate through our Saviour's sharing in it with ourselves. Claudius himself recognizes the inadequacy of his reasoning, but says that with fools you must use fools' weapons, and discharge stones at stony hearts. The true nobleness of his Christianity comes out in his final utterance: "Learn righteousness; do not worship the cross, which is nothing, but bear the cross, as Christ has commanded."

After this attack on images and symbols follows a more moderate assault upon the practice of pilgrimages to Rome. It neither benefits all, nor hurts all. He would use one habit of his day to oppose another. If pilgrimages are so needful, what must be thought of convent life, which incloses people within walls and keeps them from the profitable journey? In favor of pilgrimages to the city of Peter on the Tiber was only a gross and carnal interpretation of that name which Christ gave to Peter as the rock of the church. The extravagant esteem of Rome and her bishop is to Claudius all wrong. Contemns the pope. When his course is taken by pope Paschal (824) as an insult, as Theodimir informed him, the shepherd of Turin thus consoles himself: "That man is not an apostle who sits in the apostle's seat, but he who does an apostle's part. All others are scribes and Pharisees; what they command you do, but go not after their works." The boldness and even violence of his expressions was calculated to offend also his old patron, Louis the Pious. The latter had the bishop's book examined by his clergy, and condemned. Claudius received an invitation to appear and defend his theories. He declined the journey, sending word, instead, that the court-clergy were a company of asses.

The other writings of Claudius gave no occasion for attack or opposition. His chief and, so far as known, his last work is his "Apology." Yet he outlived this swan-song eleven years, unthreatened or at any rate unmolested in the exercise of his office.¹

¹ In his last years he was opposed in the writings of Dungal and of Jonas. The former, a Scotchman, had been sent by Charles the Great to Pavia, and labored there many years. He is mentioned by king Lothair, Louis's viceroy in Italy, as one of the distinguished teachers who supplied the great lack of instruction in those parts. By Lothair's express command boys were sent to him out of the neighboring towns, Milan, Brescia, Lodi, Bergamo, Norara, Vercelli, and Como. Dungal seems to have been eminent in grammar and astronomy. In his writings against Claudius, he shows acquaintance with the Christian poets, among others, with Paulinus of Nola. He combated Claudius with weapons found in Christian antiquity and traditions. He takes his stand on the Carlovingian books, favor-

Claudius belongs to tragedy, not that he died a martyr's death, for the billows calmed as he drew near his end, but because the foe against whom he accepted the gauntlet, the growing corruption of Christian life and worship, got the victory in the coming centuries. He was a man of the times that were to be. We cannot acquit him of passionate excitement, nor of a certain coarseness of speech, nor of a somewhat one-sided idealism. None the less, he and the cause which he defended were in the path of Christian progress.

One passage of his, giving his thought of God, we will present in his own words: "The perfection of truth and wisdom changes not with time, wanders not from place to place, is obscured by no night, nor dimmed by passing shadows; neither can He be apprehended by our bodily senses. Every hour He is near every one in the whole earth who turns lovingly towards Him. Confined in no place, He is absent from none. In the market-place He dwells, in the heart his voice is uttered. Whoever beholds Him is transformed by Him, nor can ever wish to change Him to some baser shape. None judges Him, none without Him utters a righteous judgment. Trusting Him, I separate chance and change from the ever abiding. The cycles of time vanish from before me in the Eternal One. For periods of time are full of events ending or beginning. In Him the Eternal same is neither past nor future. What vanishes certainly is not; what is future has no existence. The eternal alone is; none can say it was, nor it is to be. Therefore could yonder eternal Perfection reveal Himself to man's mind, crying, 'I am that I am.' Of Him could it be said, 'He who is, hath sent me.'"

In Claudius we recognize a spirit profound, eager, mighty. Out of the living truths of Paul he drew strength. He distinguished himself, in a superficial age, by going to Augustine, the great teacher, whom he has rightly extolled as "the true lover of the Lord, the pen of Heaven, the tongue of the Holy Ghost." — E. N.

ing the keeping and reverencing of images, but without adoring them. Jonas of Orleans did not appear against Claudius till after the latter's death. He had written at an earlier date, but had perhaps been kept from publishing by Louis the Pious, with whom Claudius in later years was in favor on account of his greater moderation. Jonas's book against the errors of Claudius, which he thought would long survive, is dedicated to Charles the Bold. He defends images, crosses, relics, and pilgrimages, the first within such limits as were set by the Frankish church. The Latin of Claudius is severely and pedantically criticised by both Dungal and Jonas.

LIFE X. COLUMBAN OF GERMANY.

A. D. 550 — A. D. 615. CELTIC LEADER, — GERMANY.

SOON after Patrick had preached in Ireland, there arose brethren there, consumed by such longing to spread the gospel that they could not abide at home. Among them was Columban, the teacher of Gall. Born (550) in the province of Leinster, he was trained in God's Word and the best learning of his day. Especially was he moulded by the classics, whose influence, next to that of the gospels, is seen in his writings. By the advice of a noble hermitess, he entered the monastery of Bangor, then numbering three thousand monks, and presided over by the pious and learned Congall. Moved as early as 590 to go as an evangelist to Gaul, he obtained the reluctant consent of his superiors, and set out with twelve of his brethren. The Celtic monks owed to Gaul their learning, and now would gratefully return the boon, and with it a living Christianity. Morals and religion there were unsettled. This incited the zeal and energy of the missionaries. Columban was joined by a multitude who adopted his manner of life. He seemed like a second Martin of Tours. To the prevailing corruption, Columban and his comrades opposed a strict and temperate life, marked by purity of thought and simplicity of faith. The fame of his piety soon spread abroad. They were invited to settle in Burgundy by king Guntram. On his death, they were shown the same favor by his successor, Childebert, and promised royal aid. Columban might then have settled in a cloister with a comfortable support and great worldly consideration. But he chose to humbly deny himself, bearing a cross after his Master. On the ruins of an old castle at Anegray, in a barren spot of the Scotch-Irish in Vosges Mountains, he builded a cloister; soon he removed Gaul. to Luxovium (or Luxeuil); other cloisters rose near by, at Besançon and in the Jura Mountains. The brethren followed the strict rules of Columban, and soon won great influence and reputation. By their diligence and self-denial they changed their barren country into blooming fields. Toil and care, want and self-sacrifice, were required. Columban cherished the trust of the Psalmist, "Yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread." His confidence was not disappointed; once when he had been praying three days for a sick brother, there came one on horseback, furnished with provisions sent from another cloister.

Their prospects of independence and happiness were materially affected by the death of king Childebert. The kingdom was divided, and Columban was entangled in difficulties. Theoderic, the older son, who succeeded his father, was hindered by his imperious grandmother Brune-

hilde from marrying, and led into all kinds of excesses to unfit him for ruling. Columban brought him back to his duty by grave remonstrances. He would not bless his illegitimate children, nor countenance his unlawful connection. Then the whole spite of Brunehilde, foiled in her evil plans, turned on Columban's convent. His strict life was easily brought into disrepute with the worldly bishops and nobles. He met the opposition, violence, and danger with resolute courage. At the same time he was harassed respecting the question of Easter, which was even carried to the pope. Columban, for himself and his cloister, wished leave to follow the Eastern rule, which was supported by tradition, even if rejected by the Nicene council. He showed frankness and Christian spirit, holding to his maxim: "Be bold in the cause of truth, and impregnable against falsehood." Columban, having refused king Theoderic armed entrance into his convent, was represented by Brunehilde to her grandson as withholding proper reverence. He was suddenly ordered by the king to return to Ireland. Deprived of the company of his comrades, he was forcibly carried off and put aboard a ship. From Nantes he wrote back to his brethren, exhorted them to unity and submission, and resigned himself to his fate. But God had other designs for him. The opposing winds and waves were regarded by the sailors as a mark of God's anger at the treatment given the exile. They landed him with his effects, and then, strangely enough, sailed forth prosperously. As was to be expected, Columban escaped, went to Clothair, king of Neustria, was well received and counseled with on both civil and religious questions. He had an escort given him through the Rhine country ruled by Theodebert. There he was met with favor by the prince and his great chiefs; a crowd of pupils and adherents came around him. He stopped and engaged in setting up new missions in the interests of the gospel. He went beyond the Rhine far into the land of the Alemanni. In Bregenz he aided Willimar, a Christian preacher. In Tuggen, by Lake Zurich, he threw down the heathen altars, and abolished pagan sacrifices. With the help of Gallus, he sought out all the remnants of Christianity existing among the Alemanni and Sueves from the days of Roman or Frankish rule. He preached everywhere the gospel of salvation. His work of peace was interrupted, as he had foreboded, by the outbreak of war (612).¹

Columban turned his steps across the Alps into Lombardy, and first stopped at Milan. There he enjoyed the confidence of king Agilulf, and found welcome opportunity to fight with the weapons of the Spirit against the Arianism prevalent among the Lombards. He laid the foundation of the cloister of Bobbio, south of Pavia, in a lofty, lonely region of the Apennines, where close to the Trebia appeared the towers of an ancient

¹ Theodebert met a defeat at Zulpich from his elder brother, fell into his hands, and was murdered by their merciless grandmother. Soon after the elder brother Theoderic died, and his kingdom of Burgundy, through the weakness of his son Sigebert, was wholly absorbed in Neustria by Clothair, who thus reunited the realm of his great-grandfather, Clovis.

basilica of Peter. It grew to be a famous convent beyond all the Burgundian establishments. Here Columban found his desired rest, though but for a little while, for he died in 615.¹

The picture of Columban's inner life is as beautiful as that of his outer activity. His was a profoundly religious nature, deeply penetrated by the life of Christ. He attracts us by the quietness of spirit that accompanied his great business energy. He shows thus a calm repose upon God, and marked simplicity of character. He would often go away into the woods, taking his Bible, reading and meditating as he walked, or as he sat against the trunk of a tree. On Sundays and holidays he would seek a cavern, or some lonely place, and give himself to prayer and meditation on divine things. His faith and religion were not based on human inventions, but the word of Holy Scripture. Thence he got the food of his inner life, and formed the image of Christ within him. This direct intercourse with the Lord, the head of the church and life of believers, was his especial characteristic. Self-forgetfulness, humble resignation, and obedience to God's will constituted the life of his soul. "He treads earth beneath him," said Columban, "who conquers himself. None who spares himself hates the world. It is in the heart we love or hate. No one dies to the world unless Christ lives in him. Live in Christ, and Christ lives in thee. We must take heaven by violence, beset not only by our enemies, but most of all by ourselves. If thou hast conquered self, thou hast conquered everything."

As we view him opposed to the prevailing rudeness of the times, we may be told that in his doctrine of obedience he depended on works. The Christian, the heir of a new life, was put under tutors and governors. True, there was a very strict rule in his order, to prevent the life being demoralized in the general want of training. But he did not intend the strict discipline to be an intolerable burden, or to suffocate the life. Rather he wished that everything, even what was at first a matter of obedience, might grow to be a second nature. We revere his endeavor, in the midst of his strife with rude nature, to attain the culture of the mind and the salvation of the soul, using the daily struggle with hard toils and earthly cares for a means of self-renunciation, obedience, and trust. "You will find God," he says, "by the devout faith of a pure heart, not by unholy or idle talk. Seek to find out the Incomprehensible by thy subtle investigations; wisdom will be further

¹ Bobbio remained a pattern convent, true to its aim, and an unqualified blessing to many generations. A source of renown to Columban, it did great service in the cause of science. He clung to it, answering an invitation of Clothair to return to Luxeuil, with a commendation of Bobbio. In the ninth century, his order joined the Benedictines, and in the twelfth had lost all trace of adherence to the rules of Columban. Benedict's Roman order became the favorite everywhere. But while Columban's name disappeared, his spirit and his achievements remained. We can even say that his name revived in the renovated and magnificent institution (1612) which established the old order, and among other things contained the noble Ambrosian library of Milan.

from thee than ever. Grasp him by faith, and wisdom is at thy very threshold." His last resort was not to the law, but to the grace of God in Christ. True life, he found, was love to Him who first loved us. "Our whole life is as one day's journey. The chief aim is not to love what is beneath, but only what is above, to desire only what is above, to meditate only on what is above, to seek our fatherland above, where is our father. Love is not a work, it is sweetness, salvation, and health to the soul. If the heart is not sick with sin, love is its health."

Through these expressions of Columban, we see the evangelical character of his efforts. For his age and position, he is full of Good advice to the pope. brave courage and independent spirit. He addresses with respectful liberty the Roman bishops, Gregory First and Boniface Fourth. Various disputes and a threatened church schism, near the end of his life, called out his earnest exhortation to peace. "He only," says Columban to the pope, "carries the keys of heaven, who by correct judgment opens the door to the worthy, and shuts it against those unworthy." Divine peace, above reason, was to him the condition of true life. "Return quickly to unity," he says; "pursue not old disputes; rather be silent and consign strife to oblivion. In doubtful matters give the decision to God; in what man can decide, judge without respect of persons. Acknowledge one the other, that there may be joy in heaven, and on earth, over your peace and oneness. I do not understand how a Christian can quarrel with a Christian respecting the faith. Whatever one right-minded Christian that serves God rightly utters, another must say amen to, because both believe and love the same things."

By such life and work has not Columban won the reward of those that turn many to righteousness (Daniel xii. 3)?—F. L.

LIFE XI. GALL OF SWITZERLAND.

A. D. 546—A. D. 640. CELTIC LEADER, — SOUTH GERMANY.

It is now nearly thirteen hundred years since a handful of good men came out of the distant West, the end of the known world, to bring Christian light into the heart of our Europe. At their head was Columban. Their native place was Ireland, — green Erin, — that has since, in its relations both of church and of state, been so dependent. First they came to Bangor, in Wales, to the convent presided over by the noble Comgall. Then crossing the channel, they traversed France to Wasgau, where they settled. Driven, then, through their zeal for what was good, they turned to the Alemanni of the south. The first attempt by them at evangelizing eastern Switzerland was made at Tuggen, at the southeastern extremity of Lake Zurich. The savage Alemanni, so degraded as

to own slaves and offer human sacrifices, clung to their idols. The zealous apostles of the unknown God met such harsh treatment that they at last changed their home to Lake Constance. There they pushed on their work, but were again met with violence for their zeal in putting down idolatry and wickedness. Columban then, with most of his company, climbed the Alps to cross into Italy. Gall, one of the best loved disciples, already a man advanced in years, preferred to remain behind. Unwillingly he obtained Columban's consent, his state of health compelling, and was left with two younger comrades as his assistants. Gall regained his health in a residence in Arbon, on Lake Constance, in old time the seat of a Roman colony. His home was with a Christian of that place. Then, mindful of his vow and his consecrated life, he sought some spot where he might establish the gospel, and find him a residence. From his host, who was a great huntsman, and well acquainted with the Alps, he heard of a little plain, six miles south of Arbon, surrounded by gentle declivities, which rose away towards the Alps of Appenzell and the clear water-fall of the Steinach. He thought this place would suit his purposes. He went thither, as nearly as can Found what is now St. Gall. be reckoned, in the year 614. He was over sixty when he first found this spot, with which his name is associated. The place is shown, even now, near the south side of the valley, where Gall, caught by a thorn bush, fell down, and though wearied, still full of his great purpose, cried out, "Here is my abode; here will I rest."

Of Gall's lineage there is nothing known. He is made of royal descent in legends. His name indicates his connection with a Gallic ancestry. For his age, he was well educated, as were his comrades, especially versed in the Scriptures and church literature. He was not fluent in the language of his new country, yet spoke Latin, which was then the language of science and the church through the West, even with men that had no intercourse with Rome.

Gall and his friends builded a cabin, and obtained their subsistence out of the forests. The land he chose may have been touched before this by rays of Christianity, but it had no pure fountain of the Word of God in it, no life devoted to the saving of souls, and no divine sanctuary. Now it had those whose lives were given to severe and disinterested labor, to beneficence and prayer. Who does not recognize a deep and consoling truth in the legends, which relate how they slew serpents and dragons, the symbols of evil spirits; tamed bears, and made them of service; cured the leprous and the possessed; and founded a church and monastery? The cloister of St. Gall was really founded some scores of years after his death, his disciples adopting the rules of the Benedictines. Before this it was named Gall's cell, yet possibly was even then under some monastic discipline. Gall and the brethren dwelt together in four huts, called to prayer and labor by a bell which is still preserved. They

taught and practiced agriculture and the Christian religion. Some individuals of the region possibly joined their company; others came from Scotland. When the Scotch once learned the way, they poured in reinforcements for many a year. They spread over Germany, as far even as Vienna! The life and soul of the whole enterprise was Gall. He traveled through the country, and, wherever he found the beginnings of churches, brought them into union one with another. Prudent and devoted, he gained the respect of all that were inclined to religion. There had before been bishops in Constance and in Chur, but they had been little known. Gall now connected these two churches with his cloister. The quiet, unobtrusive worker became further known by the zeal, faith, and purity of his disciples. He was seen to achieve more than ever had the bishops. He was solicited to become the bishop of Constance. He refused, preferring to remain where he had first begun his labors. He proposed one of his pupils, his assistant John, in Grabs, who was accordingly made the bishop, Gall installing him, and preaching his ordination sermon. He spoke it in Latin, a friend standing by him translating it into German. One of the sermons of Gall is preserved in the archives of St. Gall. It was preached under similar circumstances with the one named. It has often been printed in historical works, and once translated into German, though not very accurately. It tells the story of the Old and New Testament, exhibits Christ's salvation in its relation to the lives of his hearers, and closes with admonition and benediction. Every sermon then needed to include as much as possible of the essentials of Christianity, for preaching was seldom heard, and the churches were very far apart. Gall lived till over ninety, a hale old man. The Lord did not forsake his servant. Having made him a pillar of his church, He kept him strong and abiding. When the aged man was in his ninety-fifth year (640) he went upon a journey to Arbon, to a Christmas celebration. Immediately afterwards he was seized with the illness which ended his life. He fell asleep in the place where he had formed his resolve to abide in the country and establish a centre of religion. His remains were carried by his disciples to his cell, in sadness. Above his grave rose the school to which he had given the last thirty years of his life, with ever advancing prosperity. Gall's cell was the home of knowledge, the fruitful mother of religious institutions, a school that sent out a long succession of renowned and useful leaders and princes of the German church.¹ Shaken many a time by severe

¹ When the abbots of St. Gall became princes and warriors, the city tried to shake off their rule; finally, it accepted the gospel as preached in the Reformation. The convent (1531), after severe conflicts, became Romish, but at the close of the last century went down, chiefly through the willfulness of the last abbot. City and convent remain as memorials of the men from Erin, who rose as morning stars of the gospel over benighted Alemannia. So does the land around, with the gospel preached in hills and valleys, with religious institutions ancient and modern, all maintaining and extending the blessings of Christianity.

It is a very notable fact that the first bishop of St. Gall, when his installation was celebrated heartily by the Protestant as well as the Catholic citizens, declared, "Let brotherly

tempests, from the Hungarians down to the later Franks, its Christian light was never extinguished. Now the cloister overlooks one of the most industrious and flourishing towns of Switzerland. It has given the name of Gall to both the city and the canton of which it is the capital. Thus the stranger from the far West, the apostle of Christianity, has received honor. He has become to the people of the land a saint and a father. — J. D. R.

LIFE XII. BONIFACE OF GERMANY.

A. D. 680 ?—A. D. 755. BRITISH LEADER, — GERMANY.

AMONG the fathers of our Christianity, whose names and graves are ever to be cherished, is the great "apostle of the Germans." The eleven hundredth anniversary of his death has already been celebrated. The retrospect of his life, creator or restorer, as he was, of our people, will unfold to us the vital connection of Germany with Christianity. He saw the great need of his kinsfolk, and never let it out of his mind. He made everything bend to his great aims. Happily, he was aided by a succession of events that crowned his work with blessing. Before him evangelists had come to us out of Britain; they were foremost in the vineyard, smoothing the rough ground for the gentle precious sowing of the seeds of love. In their home the tide of religious life, through British influence, was rising. With new force it had been spreading living influences abroad. Still it grew more full of life at home, and as the church now covered Britain, its energy overflowed, seeking out new channels in foreign countries. Then it was that there proceeded from her the "apostle of the Germans."

The land to which he was called had been preparing. No people, if we may venture to speak confidently, had such natural or moral vocation for Christianity as the Germans. Nor had they at any former time been more fitted for a mighty work of the Spirit, which should establish the church on a national foundation. The Frankish empire, the heir of Roman power, was rising through the heroic Carolingians out of the low estate into which it had been brought by former rulers. The separated members of the Germanic people were uniting. Charles Martel pushed on this work with great energy. As far as his arm went, there was a field for the preaching of the gospel. While the state was intent

love continue and abound; may the only distinction between the two confessions be shown by emulation in good and Christian deeds." This desire seemed fulfilled as long as bishop Peter Minor lived. After his death (1863), matters were changed. Where Gall's cell once stood is a place of conflict for and against Rome. None know how the party strife will result. Yet let Catholics and Evangelicals keep alive the memory of the Irish evangelists.

Whoever wishes to know what a great German genius thought of Gall and his work, let him read Herder's *Die Fremdlinge*.

upon its aims, and the ways of attaining them, there was danger of the church becoming subject to them, imbibing a very different spirit from her right and true one. Hence the call, not only for new creation and the turning of valleys of dead bones into a living harvest, but of collecting the separated and scattered parts into one body. The "apostle of the Germans" was chosen for this twofold mission.

Winfrid, as he was called by Anglo-Saxons, or Boniface, as he was named by his brethren and the pope, received the former name when baptized, the latter for the first time (so far as known) in a papal decree of the year 719. He has verified both names. Through war (*wyn*) he reached peace (*fred*). He was also a victorious warrior, and a benefactor (*bonifacius*) of his people and his times. He was born Boyhood in England. (680 or 682) in Kyrton, in Devonshire, in the kingdom of Wessex. His family was noble and perhaps princely. He early indicated his future vocation. His father, entertaining thoughts other than his own, had intended him to be the heir of his worldly power and possessions. He soon was taught that God's thoughts are not as ours, and that we cannot oppose the divine plans for our loved ones. The boy was scarce four years old when, according to the custom, the clergy on their circuits came as visitors to his father's house. From the devout conversation of these worthy and venerable men many a fruitful seed fell into the receptive mind of the child, who, in his fancy, embraced henceforth the clerical calling. What looked like sport in the child became serious. The boy insisted on being a minister. The father saw the ardent desire rise in his son's mind with regret, and set himself against it. But either from a severe illness, of which he scarce recovered, or seeing a divine decree in the strong inclination, or possibly hoping that the boy's young, joyous mind would soon tire of the narrow cloister life, he gave his consent. The child when seven years old went to the convent of Exeter (then *Adescancaster* or *Eidechsenburg*), and when fourteen to the little convent of *Nutschalling* (*Hautscelle* or *Nusschaale*), in Hampshire, to learn the higher branches. He soon distinguished himself by his meekness, as well as his spirit and talent, and became a teacher of those younger. When (710) he took the vows of priesthood, a little over thirty years of age, he signalized himself, on the occasion of a conference of the clergy, by such genius and eloquence that he was recommended and chosen for deputy to the archbishop of Canterbury, to compose a strife between him and king *Ina* of Wessex. The result procured him high esteem; no doubt it also contributed essentially to the enlargement of his field of vision, and turned his eyes to the church's condition beyond his own country. Mission to Holland. Already the thought of going to the Continent as an ambassador of the gospel to the heathen nations was awakened in his mind. Every enticement to honor and comfort was put aside. We find him, not long after returning, declaring his

firm purpose to try a mission among the Frisians. The difficulties surrounding it, which he well knew, only roused him the more. The chief of the tribe, Radbod, was a bitter foe of Christianity. Though dependent in a measure on Pepin of Heristal, he came, after the latter's death, into complete independence, for Charles Martel for a moment had lost power by a bloody overthrow.

Winfrid's first journey to Friesland (715) took place just at this period. Already the Frankish bishops Amandus and Eligius, and the English monks Wigbert and Willibrord, had done work there. Utrecht already had a bishop. But after fruitless delay, without accomplishing anything, he came back in late autumn (717) to Nutschalling. The next autumn (718) he went to Gaul, and in the winter of the same year, with several newly won comrades, to Rome, there to take counsel with the pope (Gregory Second) over his future ministry. He received a friendly reception, a letter of recommendation from Daniel of Winchester, the bishop of his cloister, preparing his way. With a commission from the pope, in which he is for the first time called Boniface, he purposed going to the pagan portion of the Frankish empire, the Ripuarians, east of the Rhine, and their neighbors the Thuringians. This plan he carried out. On his way to Thuringia, through Bavaria, he found the results of earlier Christian doctrine, but in general the ground was unappropriated. He employed his first journey to acquaint himself with the situation, and the peculiar popular dialects. Then he went to Utrecht, where he stayed till 723, and by Trier to Hesse, where he founded the convent of Amanaburg (or Amöneburg), as the centre of the German mission. The same summer (723) he went again to Rome at the call of the pope, passing through east France and Burgundy. He accepted then (November 30th) the office of bishop. This appeared possibly a requisite for his usefulness, but it served to bring all his work into a very close relation to the papacy.¹

The outward consideration enjoyed by Winfrid on this journey (secured him by an autograph safe-conduct from Charles Martel), valuable as it was, could not console him for the want of genuine Christian belief and spiritual life, both at the court and among the clergy. Discipline and piety were almost gone. Rude military exercises and hunting sports took the place of quiet labor and care of souls; the church was degraded into a political machine. Winfrid poured out the deep complaints of his burdened soul in letters to noble friends, especially the bishop of Winchester. He had not only "fightings without and fears within,

¹ He adopted a written creed, and took an oath of homage, that "he would remain by God's help in the unity of the Catholic faith, would never consent to aught that opposed the oneness of the church, but would prove in every way his faith and his agreement with the pope and his successors, and the papal church, to which God had given the power to bind and to loose." Thus, in accordance with the spirit of the Roman church, the purity of doctrine was subordinated to the oneness of the church; the unity of the church was not derived in strict gospel fashion out of the purity of doctrine.

but the sorest opposition from false priests and hypocrites, who opposed God, lost their own souls, and corrupted the people by their scandals and errors." He returned to his settlement at Amöneburg, Germany. Here he found, also, that the seed sown had taken no deep root, and that his anxiously prepared ground was overrun by pagan weeds. He resolved "to lay the axe at the roots of the ancient tree of superstition." There was an old oak at Geismar, raised to Thor; on this he lifted his axe with sharp strokes; his disciples imitated him. Then it is said a storm arose, took the top of the tree, and, as if sent from on high, rent it asunder into four pieces. Over the fallen oak, out of which, to the amazement of its pagan devotees, there came no avenging spirits, he raised the cross, while out of its wood he builded the chapel of St. Peter's.

In the year 725, Winfrid turned again to Thuringia. The only signs of Christian religion were in the south, near Wurzburg. Wanting a base of operations and a defense against pagan attacks, he builded the convent of Ohrdruf. By steady, zealous effort this grew to be the centre from which went out a new spiritual life. Winfrid, till now, had been left to pray and toil almost alone. He was constrained to cry to the Lord of the harvest to send forth more laborers. He had never given up his relations to Britain, though the joy of beholding his fatherland had never been his, after his first brief return. He now received thence a host of assistants, men and women. Their self-sacrificing spirit, so different from that of the Frankish clergy, their life of devotion and study, such as was found then in the great English cloisters, especially fitted them to cultivate the hard soil of Germany. Nor were they simply helps to Winfrid's mission, but also dear friends and trusted comrades in joy and in sorrow. Those devout, enthusiastic women, toiling in their quiet ways, brought a blessing with them, and left memories dear to history. It was good judgment in Winfrid when he gave them an especial place by the cradle of German Christianity.

The position of Winfrid was not affected by Gregory Third taking the place of Gregory Second on the latter's death. Winfrid was not only confirmed in his place, where he certainly could show abundant success, but was given the robe of an archbishop, so as to appoint bishops over his newly acquired churches. He had no particular city, at first, as a residence. His field grew; he had all the German people east of the Rhine for his territory. He builded that year two new churches, one at Fritzlar, the other probably at Amöneburg. He then turned his attention to Bavaria. There had some churches been added here to those of ancient times; but clerical life was degraded; there was no unity of discipline or worship. At first he designed only to find out how things were; he had a plan to be worked out afterwards.

In 738 he went again to Rome, the third time. Hereafter his church

work takes a new shape. While he was sowing the seed in Hesse and Thuringia for thirteen years, he had to do mostly with individuals. Now he toiled to gather the scattered people into one flock, and unite them into a single efficient church. His first work had been evangelizing, his next work was organizing. His preference was for a hierarchy. Making a longer stay in Rome than before, with the help of Gregory, he matured his plans of working. Then he went out (739) as a legate, an immediate representative of the church's visible head, fully commissioned. In Bavaria, which he first entered, duke Odilo gave him especial favor, not out of love for the gospel, but from political designs. A purely German church organization seemed the best means of securing independence of the empire of the Franks. Winfrid rid Bavaria of unworthy clergy, giving her the four bishoprics of Salzburg, Freisingen, Regensburg, and Passau. He extended like measures to Thuringia and Hesse. For the latter he gave a bishop to Buraburg; for the former, to Wurzburg and Eichstadt in the south, and to Erfurt in the north. The last was his own place of residence. His long matured plans were not shaken by the death (741) of Charles and Gregory Third. If he lost with Rome, he gained with Carloman, who devoted himself to the church, and ruled in person over the scenes of Winfrid's labor. The latter soon had a chance fully to repay his powerful patron. The dukes of Bavaria and Alemannia planned, with the aid and consent of the pope, to divide the Frankish empire. Though they were beaten in severe battles, the victory could not be followed up on account of the other embarrassments of the sons of Charles. Winfrid, meanwhile, stood by Carloman, though the pope took the other side. The king and the preacher in common resisted the dismemberment of Germany. The effort that would make an independent Germany, socially and politically, was put forth by Winfrid for sake of the church also, to establish her rules, customs, and constitution. At the bottom of their efforts was the deep, perhaps unconscious, sense of the people's need. Only by unity and independence could Germany be saved; without them, she would bow to Roman or Slavonian violence. While Winfrid was promoting the equal interests of state and church in Germany, he did not oppose a single, strong church, such as was wanted at Rome, if it was of the right kind.

Winfrid found other ways to cleanse and strengthen Christian belief and life. One was the constitution of synods. The yearly provincial synods brought the refractory clergy to terms, elevated the power of Winfrid, purified manners, removed lingering heathenism, and established a sure discipline over the entire people. This was not true of the clergy the other side of the Rhine. They tried to maintain independence even when he acted in concert with Rome. He disposed of the disputes that arose about his teachings (on predestination, etc.), and about church gov-

ernment, not at the synods but by decisions from Rome. He had as opponents Clemens, superior to him in Christian knowledge but inferior in wisdom and conduct, and the Frank Adalbert, a forerunner, it seems, of the Mystics. Obedience to the Roman church won the day. If Winfrid favored it from other than Scriptural reasons, he none the less was the blessed means of strengthening the tender German church by a compact constitution. He was helped by the movements and successes of the civil power. It was no empty coincidence that the very year (732) he established the German church, Charles the Hammerer broke the power of the Arabs, then threatening southwest Europe with Islam. When Charles's son Carloman resigned in favor of his brother Pepin, and, disquieted in conscience in the midst of the not very honorable wars upon the Alemanni, retired to a convent, and Pepin, putting to Rome the

Relations to the empire. question, Were it not better for the church in her need, if the man with the kingly power had also the kingly title? obtained the desired answer in the affirmative; there was further help given to Winfrid. For the government, seeking its authority from the church, had to acknowledge an obligation to promote religious objects. No doubt Winfrid was led to lean on a human arm, by employing political aid, and was drawn away from complete trust in the church's invisible Lord and ruler. Yet he achieved the great service of laying the foundation for a religious renovation of the Frankish empire.

Winfrid gave a keystone to his church organization by establishing metropolitans. He fixed and defined the relations of archbishops and bishops. Having no residence as archbishop, Winfrid selected Mainz, after his plan to choose Cologne had failed. Thus with Mainz and thirteen bishoprics, he completed the edifice of the German church. To extend the advantages of this arrangement to future times, he settled on his successor in his lifetime. He satisfied his heart's desire, with the aid of pope Zachary, by electing Lull, his most gifted and trusted pupil, in the spring of 754.

There was not to shine on our nation's apostle such an evening as he had dreamed of enjoying, in his favorite convent of Fulda, in the midst of East Franks, Thuringians, Hessians, and Saxons. He had received for Fulda, from the Frankish chiefs, great gifts of land in the beech-woods of Hesse, in the centre of a wilderness on Fulda River. There, through the agency of his friend and pupil, Sturm, a noble youth who had joined him in Bavaria, studied in Fritzlar, and lived a hermit life in Hersfeld, Winfrid had reared a cloister and school, under even stricter rules than those of Benedict. They are proven by history to have brought blessings down on succeeding generations. "This place," wrote Winfrid in 751, "I have obtained lawfully from devout men and have dedicated to the Saviour. Here, after a few more days, I will attend to my weary body, and here I will be buried." But his longing for rest was not so

strong as for the fulfillment of the desire of his youth. He returned to his mission of forty years ago to Friesland, which was not Christianized, save in the vicinity of Utrecht. Laying his shroud in his chest of books, foreboding and, as some say, wishing his death, he set out, ^{Journeys to his} and with his pupil Eoban, bishop of Utrecht, preached the ^{death.} gospel, at first with success. But when he would have gone on to Dokkum, and was waiting on the bank of a little river, to give confirmation to a company of baptized pagans, he was fallen upon (June 5, 755) in his tent, by a hostile horde, and, forbidding his lay comrades to use their swords, was slain, along with his clerical companions. The body of the old man of seventy-five was brought afterwards by the monks to Fulda.

In his life of outward excitement Winfrid was not wanting in quiet within, in fatherly care for the growth of his converts, nor in searching the Scriptures, his dearest occupation. He recommended the Bible urgently, for, said he, "it conveys our souls, without risk of shipwreck in the storm, to the shore of the blessed Paradise, to the eternal joys of heaven." Not afraid of giving a sharp, severe warning to repent, to his king, Ethibald, he said, "How unbecoming that ye change this image of God, formed in you, to the image of the devil, by your serving your lusts." Yet Winfrid did not exalt himself, but kept a lively sense of his own weakness and sinfulness, as he writes to an English abbeſs: "Pray for me, that He who from his lofty place looks upon the lowly may forgive me my sins, that so the word of my mouth may have glad entrance, and Christ's glorious gospel run among the heathen, and be glorified."

One love and one care marked this man's whole life, full as it was of noble thought and genius, true faith and profound humility. He would toil to bring in God's kingdom. A rare instrument in God's hands, he pursued this object with unwearied courage and unclouded vision to his life's close. When our Romanist brethren exalt him as a pillar of the papal hierarchy, they simply ascribe to him human weakness, in that he, like others, was devoted to the external institutions of his time. To evangelical Germans he is the divine agent who, by strict enforcement of laws and churchly rules, opposed pagan and immoral influences, and preserved the first tender germs of our Christianity. We honor him as the founder of German nationality, the restorer of the German church. Let us gladly and thankfully obey the command, "Remember them . . . who have spoken unto you the word of God: whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation!" — F. L.

LIFE XIII. ANSGAR OF SCANDINAVIA.

A. D. 800?—A. D. 865. FRANK LEADER,—SCANDINAVIA.

IN Denmark in 1826, and in Sweden in 1830, a millennial celebration took place, in memory of the holy Ansehar or Ansgar. The date was fixed by the time when the "apostle of Scandinavia" first set foot on those countries. Ansgar has been called "The Ideal of a Missionary." The title is justified by his personal and public character. As with many another Christian leader, the childhood of Ansgar was prophetic; his manhood kingly; his old age and closing hours, and indeed his entire life, priestly in its character.

His childhood was made prophetic by the memory of a pious mother; by visions and revelations late and early. We may think A prophet in youth. as we will of them, but they are all related to the Scriptures, in which he was faithfully taught by his mother till her death, which took place when he was hardly five years old. She lived again for her boy. For, in one of his visions, the very first, it is told how he imagined himself in a marsh; near by lay a pleasant plain upon which he saw a company of holy women coming, among them his mother. He was asked by one of them, whom he took for the Virgin Mary, whether he would like to come to his mother. He then formed the idea of putting away the earthly vanity and childish folly to which he was given. Whether this occurred before or after his entrance into the school to which his father sent him, he took it literally for his guidance, and was in heart an ascetic, even in childhood. Yet his soul was not established in the faith, as it became through the death of Charles the Great. For the latter, whom he had opportunity to see, he had an unbounded admiration. They said that, in his heaven, Charles took the place of a father by the side of his mother. He was so overcome by the death of the emperor, along with the recollections of his mother, and of Mary's admonition, that he gave himself wholly to the Lord's service. His experience, the following Pentecost, made him date his conversion from that period. From an abyss of woes, which he could liken only to the pains of hell, he was lifted to a summit of happiness, and filled with indescribable sweetness and joy by the forgiveness of his transgressions. The boy was already an ascetic of the order of Augustine.

During his youth Ansgar was a student in old Corbey, in Picardy. Thence he was transplanted to new Corbey, in Westphalian Saxony, to be a teacher. He was at once chief teacher in the convent-school and chief preacher in the convent church. Every duty and office laid on him he undertook with a sense of unworthiness, the teacher's office as much as that of an archbishop. But when assured in mind he accepted

a vocation joyfully, and did promptly and bravely whatever was required. His start as a champion of mission-work was given by a war. The king of Denmark was driven from his country, and came to Louis the emperor for help. This was promised him, on condition that he and his embrace the Christian religion. Harold assented, and was baptized. When the question rose, who should go with him to confirm him in the faith, as one and another declined the dangerous office, the universal thought turned to young Ansgar. The good abbot Walo declared that none was so fitted for such a vocation by a believing, godly life. Ansgar said he was ready. His zeal roused some to dissuade and others to slander him. He remained unmoved. His steadfastness excited Autbert, the second in office in the convent, unexpectedly to go with him. The emperor gave them good advice and Christian admonition for their journey. They went to Cologne first, and there were given a splendid boat by bishop Hadebold, who conceived a great interest in their enterprise. They at last reached Friesland, and landed on a shore which the emperor had given Harold. Here Ansgar began his mission, and so successfully that from time to time many pagans accepted baptism. A school was opened, which king Harold supplied with scholars. But now a new direction was given Ansgar's effort. An embassy, possibly in secret, came to the emperor from Sweden, with a petition for Christian teachers, for many in their country had a longing for the Christian religion. Walo, when consulted, again pointed to Ansgar as the only suitable man for the Swedes, as for the Danes. Receiving the summons home, Ansgar, after assuring himself again in prayer, entered on the new undertaking. He was given, by the abbot, for his comrade, a venerable brother of the cloister named Witmar, while there was sent to Harold, in the stead of Autbert, who had died, one Gislemar, "a man tried in faith and in good works."

Ansgar's journey to Sweden prospered, even though with a peculiar beginning. Pirates deprived him of ship and property. He was put on the shore of Sweden utterly destitute. The others advised return. Ansgar's assurance of soul, received by him once for all, made him confident that the affair, in spite of all obstacles, must have a prosperous issue. So they traveled a good part of their remaining journey on foot, and at last came to a principal city of Sweden, named Birca (that is, Arrives in Birca, Sweden. Haven; and it is disputed whether it was in north Sweden, where various places are guessed, or in south Sweden; the latter being more likely, and the place perhaps Kalmar). And now Ansgar found his hope justified, for the king of the country, Biörn, taking counsel with his servants and judges, granted him by law the liberty of preaching. This was very welcome to the many Christian captives there that were hoping to receive the holy sacrament. It appears that the soil of that country was well prepared for the reception of the gospel. Northmen

had been obliged, in order to receive baptism, to travel to the "Holy Dorstat" (probably Wyk-by-Duursteede, on the Rhine, near Utrecht, Holland), or to Hamburg. This was the embassy named above desired to obviate. "Many Swedes," it declared, "were baptized in Dorstat or Hamburg." The first great result of Ansgar's work in Birca was the conversion of the governor Hergeir, the chief counselor and most trusted friend of king Biörn. He received baptism and "became strong in the Christian faith." There may also be mentioned Frideborg, a wealthy widow, who proved a genuine Doreas, among early Swedish Christians. It is easy to see that much was accomplished for the establishment and spread of the church in Sweden, in Ansgar's first year and a half in that country. The emperor, rejoiced at the results, set up an archbishopric of the north at Hamburg, and had Ansgar solemnly ordained archbishop for that great district, reaching from Hamburg to the Polar Ocean. At this time Louis gave the Hamburg cathedral Türholt (probably a country property) in Gaul, and afterwards Welanao in Denmark, as an endowment. For the advance of his mission, Ansgar made frequent visits to the last place and to lower Denmark, and won many to Christianity. For his vicar and bishop in Sweden he ordained Gautbert, now called Simon, a relative of bishop Ebbo, who is said to have attempted a mission in Denmark some time before Ansgar. Simon met a favorable reception from king and people, and moved them to build a church. But after a little, great adversities came in the north as well as the south. Hamburg was ravaged with fire by the pirates. Church, cloister, and library, all, except a few relics, vanished in flames. Ansgar found himself destitute of everything save his trust in the Lord. The church in Sweden met a still sorer disaster. Paganism, which had been obliged to yield a little way to Christianity, grew furious and violent, took Simon and expelled him from the country, and killed his nephew Nitard, who thus was the first of Swedish martyrs. The church dispersed, remaining long years without a pastor. Nevertheless, Hergeir, as long as he lived, did the work of an evangelist, supported by a hermit Ardgär, sent to him by Ansgar.

Early in 854 (possibly sooner), Ansgar undertook hopefully his second journey to Sweden, with a letter from the Danish king Eric. He was encouraged thereto by Simon, who did not trust himself for the undertaking. Ansgar ventured alone, an overwhelming persuasion coming to him from Isaiah's words respecting the "islands," the more convincing because the belief then was that "the whole northern country consisted of islands;" also from Jeremiah's words: "He shall make thee glorious," which seemed a renewed pledge of the martyr's crown. He went with good heart. All his friends in Birca expected the very worst from the pagans, but advised him to ask the noble king Olaf to be his guest. He followed the advice, and made

Victory in
Sweden.

such presents also as he was able. The king summoned the people of his kingdom to two "Things," or royal assemblies. According to pagan usage, the lot was to decide; and in both places it favored the free preaching of the gospel. Thereupon, the aid that the God of the Christians has often given was extolled by one of the pagans with great eloquence. The result was beyond all that Ansgar, so strong in prayer and faith, was able to ask or conceive. The tree that is to live long grows slowly; the tree of Christianity had taken firm root in Sweden. What Ansgar's first journey began, his second established. He did not, it seems, stay long in Sweden. He brought to the king a nephew of Simon, named Heribert, to preach and give the sacraments. The king gave the latter a place for the building of a church (the former one having probably been destroyed in the insurrection). Ansgar gave him another for a parsonage. New ministers came from time to time, Ausfrid, Rimbert, and others. In 858 the diocese of Bremen was joined to that of Hamburg. The ship given by Hadebold could be called the forerunner of a greater vessel, the church of Bremen, which the archbishop of Cologne gave to Ansgar. Those who succeeded Ansgar were called archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen. They were not all like him in his humility and unselfishness.

By these qualities Ansgar distinguished himself, and exercised an influence which we have called royal upon people and princes. We have seen how he was honored by the latter; and we ^{Royal in man-}
^{hood.} note that not only was he given rich presents and choice testimonials, as when king Eric wrote to the Swedish Olaf that he "had never known as good a man, or found such fidelity in any;" but he was also more than once intrusted with the making of their treaties. He did not lack the temptation of pride from these honors, and especially from the credit given him for sanctity, but like a man he overcame them. The sack-cloth which he always wore would not have proven effectual, if his earnest prayers had not been added. If half his life was a fast-day, his whole life was a prayer without ceasing. In his "home of peace" (a little cabin), he employed himself copying the Scriptures, writing books, especially his comments on the Psalms, in the form of prayers (called his *Pigmenta*). But he communicated them, as also his own revelations, only in confidence to trusted friends, that there might no thorn of temptation rise out of them. For his many difficulties he derived maxims from Job, and his favorite Martin of Tours. In his various activities, he was Paul-like, even to his working with his own hands. "He sang psalms and made nets." Thus he burdened no one; those he commissioned he instructed to do likewise. He set aside the largest part of his income for the poor, erecting for them a hospital in Bremen. Frequently, in fast-time especially, he received them at his table, and required always a table to be provided for them, on his journeys as bishop, before he would take a meal himself. A chief care of his was to free captives

and slaves, of which we have many instances, one especially touching, when he freed the son of a widow sold away into Sweden, and brought him back to the arms of his mother. There was a royal gentleness in his whole demeanor, and a royal power, too, when it was needed.

When the time of his "home-going" approached, he was troubled most by the fact that the hope of the fulfillment of the promise he had of martyrdom was taken away. But he was comforted even about this. He arranged with the utmost concern for the establishment of the archbishopric and the northern mission.¹ The day he had desired for his death, he observed as a day of preparation for his departure, gave a feast to his clergy and to the poor, and had public worship and preaching. He counseled his friends to serve God faithfully, and left them his blessing. Then he bade that all with one voice should chant for him the "Te Deum" of Ambrose, and the Athanasian creed. The next morning he took the sacrament, prayed for his enemies, and repeated the penitential Psalms of David, especially these words: "Into thy hands do I commit my spirit, for Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord." When he could no longer say the words, he asked a brother to read them aloud to him, as long as he continued to breathe. Thus he fell asleep. He was buried with great solemnity and many tears. This was in 865. His body still lies in St. Peter's Church in Bremen. The letter "S," which was placed the very day after his death upon his grave, by Rimbart, his most loved disciple, his successor in office, and his affectionate biographer, remains indestructible, when so many thousand times the S (saint) which popes have put on graves has vanished. — C. W. S.

¹ How wide the results of the spirit and labors of Ansgar, cannot be determined. But none can doubt their permanency. We note an example. It were remarkable if none of the Swedish kings that were well disposed had been fully won to Christianity. We may hope that Olaf was; for he promised Ansgar that he would "in every way extend and strengthen Christianity, and abide in the faith as a servant of the Lord;" and we can scarce think that this promise was made by one not a Christian. This being so, we reject the received idea that Olaf who was baptized about A. D. 1000 was the first Christian king of Sweden. The triumph of king Olaf of Birca over Apulia, which was won after some merchants in the army, reminding the people of the teaching of the holy Ansgar, exhorted them to courage and trust in God, and the resolve of all on returning home to honor Christ as strong and mighty above all gods, is an undoubted proof of an extended result to Ansgar's mission. So is the deep root which Christianity took in Schleswig, Ribe, and several places in Denmark. To pass by other proofs, "the wise Christian" was honored by the northern pagans indirectly as well as directly. His memory is connected especially with Ansgar's church in Bremen, is perhaps revived in the name of Ansgar, the first archbishop in Lund, is celebrated yearly (February 3d), and is perpetuated in our days in a multitude of Ansgarian writings and mission associations. Lately there went a ship out of Sweden that was named Ansgar.

LIFE XIV. *CYRIL, APOSTLE OF SLAVONIA.*

A. D. 815 ?—A. D. 869. GREEK LEADER, — SLAVONIA.

A MILLENNIUM was completed recently (1863), dating from the appearance of the two men whom the great Slavonian family honors as its apostles. Their history, after many researches, is still not complete, owing to the few sources of certain information, for the legends of them are all more or less doubtful. They were brothers, the older named Constantine (afterwards Cyril), the younger Methodius. Coming from the flourishing trading town of Thessalonica, where there were many Slavonic elements, they were most probably descendants of a Grecized Slavonic family. Their father, it is said, was a nobleman, Leo. The dates of their births are unknown. They gave themselves to be monks, in a cloister on Mount Olympus, when Ignatius was patriarch of Constantinople (846–857). The Greek cloisters were centres of knowledge. Their ascetic contemplative existence was counted the true philosophy. Cyril was especially learned. He took part early in theological discussions, one in particular against Photius, the chief imperial secretary, and after 857 universal patriarch. He opposed the latter's theory of a two-fold spirit in man, the rational and the irrational. For his learning, and his monastic eminence, he was named the "Philosopher." Methodius was more of a practical turn; yet it was Cyril who went first as a missionary.

The Chazars, a Finnish-Tartar nation on the Sea of Azof, had by intercourse with Constantinople gained some knowledge of Christianity. Many already were baptized. They were also sought as proselytes by the Jews and Moslems. But those who consulted their nation's higher interests, and who wanted a firm alliance with Greece, applied to Michael Third (860) to send them a teacher able to instruct them in the faith of Christianity. The emperor summoned Cyril, who at once declared himself ready for the mission. He went first to Cherson, to learn there, in the neighborhood of their country, the Chazars' language. He discovered, in the course of his explorations upon an island of the Black Sea, the supposed remains of Clement of ^{In Russia.} Rome, who was said, when exiled by Trajan, to have there died a martyr's death. After that he began his work among the Chazars, preaching and disputing, commending and maintaining Christianity. He gained many who had been pagans. He cured many of errors implanted by Jewish or Moslem teachers. On departing from the scene of a work which, though brief, was rich in its results, he, a "philosopher" indeed, refused the presents proffered him, but obtained instead the liberation of all foreign captives. With the relic-treasure he had found, Cyril came

back (862) to Constantinople. Here he lived until a new call came to him, to which, with his brother, he rendered obedience.

Among the Slavonians of the south, missionaries of the Greek church had long been laboring. The Pannonians Charlemagne had tried to convert when he conquered their land.¹ In the times of his son, Louis, the brave duke Moimir, of Moravia,² without renouncing allegiance to the emperor, subdued the petty chiefs about him, and began to lay on the north of the Danube the foundations of a great Slavic empire. He embraced Christianity. Many of his subjects followed his example. His growing power was seen by Louis, son of Charlemagne, who moved against him, and put in his place his nephew Rastiz, or Rastislaw. This prince struck for independence, and resisted every effort of Louis to subdue him. To make Slavonia independent of Germany in her church, Rastiz resolved to introduce a Slavic liturgy, and promote a Slavic literature. He had heard of the activity of Cyril in the land of the Chazars. Such a teacher, well acquainted with the Slavonians, he wished to obtain. He applied to the Greek emperor, Michael Third, who sent (863) Cyril, with his brother Methodius, "to the land of the Slavonians." Their road took them through Bulgaria, where already Greco-Slavonian missionaries were at work. Whether the brothers joined them in labors on their way through cannot be certainly recorded. In June (863), they reached duke Rastiz. He was living in his fortress of Welehrad (Devina) on the March, on whose ruins the city of Hradisch was builded afterwards (1258).

Cyril and Methodius began their work zealously and wisely. The harvest was great there, and the laborers few. They first sought to gather a little group of pupils, for the sake of training native priests for the church's service. They undertook mission journeys in every direction, and taught the Moravian people in their own tongue. They opposed pagan errors, and sowed the Word. They baptized those who had been in darkness. They dedicated churches and altars. They circulated a volume of church lessons out of the Holy Scriptures, to be used in public service. These, along with a liturgy, Cyril had translated into Slavic.³ Soon a Slavonian church rose by the

In Slavic Austria.

¹ To this end Charlemagne called in the archbishop Arno, of Salzburg. Thence began the claims of the Salzburg archbishopric over Pannonia. The Moravian Slavonians, northwest of Pannonia, with their several leaders, had (803) owned the Frankish supremacy, at the Diet of Regensburg. They acknowledged a slight allegiance by yearly presents. The missions among them were carried on by certain clergy, who preached on their own account. They were from the Passau bishopric, in the Salzburg see, which claimed the neighboring Moravians. About 835, the Salzburg archbishop Adalram, as metropolitan of Passau, consecrated a church in Neutra, the first among the northwest Slavonians.

² Moravia, at the middle of the ninth century, included not only the Moravia and Silesia of to-day, but also the Hungarian Slowakei. It reached to the March, Danube, and Gran. Rastiz struck a league with the long Slavonianized Bulgarians (853), and later with the German-hating Greeks (862).

³ Probably after the Greek order, which was then as catholic as the Roman. Scholars dispute whether the characters which were introduced among the Slavonians were the so-called "Cyrillics," in which still the greater part of the separated Greeks, that is, the Rus-

untiring toil of the brothers. Differences sprang up then with priests from Germany, who used the Latin liturgy, and were deserted by the people, who did not understand it.¹ In the autumn of 867, the two brothers received a friendly invitation to Rome. Upon their arrival Adrian Second had taken office (December 14, 867). They were received with great honor, especially as they brought the relics of the holy Clement. They readily came to an understanding with the Roman bishop. He, in the spirit of his predecessor, not only took no offense at the Slavonian liturgy, but overlooked even the difference which existed between the Latins and the Greeks respecting the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit. The Greeks, and no doubt Cyril and Methodius, held that not from Father and Son, but from the Father only, the Spirit proceeded. The Roman church held the opposite, but not as a part of the creed. The main point with the pope was the extension of his hierarchy, and to this end he must tolerate the opinions of the brothers. As it was the desire of Rastiz to be independent of Germany in his church affairs, the two brothers took the office of bishop, promising fidelity to the Roman church (January 5, 869).

Constantine now took the name of Cyril (in Slavonian, Chra), by which he was henceforth exclusively known. Yet he was not to return to his new home. He died in Rome the 14th of February, 869, and was buried there on the right of the altar in the church of the Holy Clement, whose bones he had brought thither. Methodius (in Slavonian, Strachota) returned in the spring of 869, as archbishop of Moravia and Pannonia.² He did not give up the use of the Slavonian in public worship. He justified it on the ground of the national sympathy with such a service. As he raised up more and more native preachers, he proceeded to celebrate all the church services in the language of the country. Thereby the people were so greatly attracted that the priests from Salzburg, Germany, who used a foreign tongue, discovered their usefulness in Lower Slavonia at an end. About the year 877, Methodius returned from the south to the north, into Moravia, and the neighborhood of Swatopluk,

sians, Servians, and Roumanians, worship, or the "Glagolica," to which the rest hold, along with the Roman Catholic Slavonians in Istria and Dalmatia. If, as is more probable, the brothers wrote Glagolisch, the question rises, Was it an independent invention of theirs, of Constantine more especially, or found by them elsewhere and introduced into church use? In the last case, could they have brought the Glagolisch out of Bulgaria?

¹ About this time, a contest broke out between Rome and Constantinople, respecting the ecclesiastical rule over Bulgaria. It is easy to be seen that the prudent Nicholas First, informed of the successful labors of the brothers on a field of the Roman church, directed his aim at once to the ecclesiastical union of Moravia with Rome.

² He stood directly under the bishop of Rome. The Germans, dissatisfied with this politico-ecclesiastical arrangement, began war with Rastiz, but were soon forced to a disadvantageous peace. Moravia became politically and ecclesiastically independent. A quarrel then broke out in the duke's family, and Swatopluk, the ambitious nephew of Rastiz, and prince under his uncle at Neutra, joined Louis's son Carloman, secretly took his uncle prisoner, and seized his sceptre. Carloman entering Moravia, the people took arms. Swatopluk, making terms with the Moravians, dislodged the Germans, concluded a league with Borziwoi, duke of Bohemia, and forced a peace (874). Methodius, who had revered his protector, Rastiz, came into unpleasant relations with Swatopluk, and so betook himself, at the beginning of the troubles, to Pannonia, to the territory of the Slavonian duke Kocel.

the nephew of Rastiz (now ruling in his uncle's place). He there won over the young duke of Moravia (Borziwoi), and baptized him with his followers. The Slavonian apostle also succeeded in Bohemia beyond the German clergy. At the fortress of Lewy Hradec, three hours north of Prague, the duke built the first church in that land, and named it after Clement of Rome, the patron saint of the brothers. The German priests inclined duke Swatopluk against Methodius, accusing him of heresy.¹ In the year 874 they moved the duke to go in person to Rome, while they sent a double accusation against Methodius, to accomplish his deposition. They charged him with stubborn persistence in liturgical innovations and false belief respecting the Holy Spirit. He was cited to Rome (June 14, 879) by pope John Eighth, to answer. Methodius went, but obtained a decision in his favor² (June, 880). It was held no way at variance with the sound faith that he read selections from the Old and New Testament, or performed the entire service in Slavonian. For He who made the three chief tongues, the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, had made also all other languages to his praise and glory. Only the language of Western devotion should be honored to this extent, that (as is the case to-day in the Slavonian church of St. Jerome, in Rome) the gospel should be read at divine service, first in Latin, afterwards in the Slavonian; also, that when desired by the duke and his court, the service should be in Latin.³ Methodius, returning home (880), remained the acknowledged archbishop of Moravia-Pannonia. Slavonian Christianity remained distinct from the Roman.⁴ As chief pastor of that

¹ As was to be expected, the archbishop of Salzburg, supported by king Louis and duke Carloman, made a great outcry before John Eighth (pope after December, 872) over the injury to his rights in Pannonia. The pope, however, maintained the Slavonian archbishopric created by his predecessor. He procured (873) through his legate, bishop Paulus of Ancona, the recognition by Louis and Carloman of the Pannonian diocese. But at the same time he notified Methodius to abolish the singing of the mass in the barbarian, that is, the common tongue. It was to be used only in preaching. The Pannonian diocese was also given a yet greater extent, including Servia. The prince of that land, Muntimir, was asked to approve this (874).

² Methodius, in his answer respecting the procession of the Spirit from the Father, and not from the Father and the Son, asserted with entire truth that he, like the whole Roman church, had always held to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed; since in this the words "and from the Son" were wanting, so he had always sung the same without this addition, which the French-German church had taken into the creed (794). Those in Rome, as has been said above, approved the addition as a dogma, but rejected its insertion in the creed. And while this was the case Methodius could be taken as orthodox.

³ Evidently a motive of church policy led pope John to his decision. He knew that here the interest of the German church, which wanted to assert its ancient right over Moravia and Pannonia, did not agree with the interest of the Roman hierarchy. Rather Methodius and his Slavonian national church should be spared, if the latter was to be kept in connection with the papacy, and not be forced, at least as regarded Pannonia, into accord with the patriarch of Constantinople. Besides, John was then contending with the patriarch respecting Bulgaria, where Slavonian language and customs prevailed. He sought to attract this newly-Christianized country into his rule. But his endeavor would be frustrated by offending the Slavonians in adjacent Lower Pannonia, whereas by a wise indulgence of the Greek Slavonian character of that church it would be furthered.

⁴ The German party, through Swatopluk, who helped them, asked from the papacy that an Alemannian priest, named Wiching, a pupil of the convent of Reichenau, should be made a bishop in Moravian Pannonia, with a residence at Neutra. But the pope, to prevent all machinations, made him only a suffragan, subject to his archbishop in all places, according to the church law. In like manner the pope was ready to consecrate a second

great region (where there are now fifteen bishoprics) he had no metropolis, his duty calling him here and there, at one time and another. The places where he was wont to stay the longest were near the prince's residences.¹ Methodius lived his closing years in undisturbed activity. He finished his course, as is said at the end of one record, maintaining the faith and expecting the crown of righteousness. In the arms of his pupils he fell asleep, April 6, 885, and was buried in the principal church, near the ducal residence. The whole people lamented their teacher and pastor, who had become all things to all men, in order to save all. The festival of Cyril and Methodius, the glorious confessors of Christ, the apostles, bishops, and patrons of our country, has since 1380 been celebrated on the 9th of March; but at the jubilee of the one thousandth anniversary, held in 1863, in solemn form at Welehrad, in a very ancient church near the Hradisch, the same was celebrated the 5th day of July.

J. C. T. O.

suffragan for another part of the archbishopric, when one was judged necessary. The opponents of Methodius, and of a Slavonian national church, employed these measures to carry out their aim. Their representative, Wiching, so controlled the duke, through a letter forged in the interests of the German Latin party against the archbishop, that all kinds of hindrances were put in the way of the latter. Methodius appealed to Rome. John Eighth satisfied him in a reply (March 23, 881) of the sincerity of his intentions, promising to investigate and to punish the refractory Wiching, and not to suffer Methodius to fail. But before the trial could be had, John died (December, 882) and Methodius lost his supporter. Then, for political reasons, Swatopluk, who had hitherto favored the German interests against the Slavonians, became favorable to Methodius. The national interest was in the foreground. He had fallen into war with Arnulf, duke of Kärnten and Pannonia, defeated him (883), and made himself wholly independent of the German empire.

¹ In the north (Moravia), Welehrad, the fortress of Rastiz and Swatopluk; in the south (Pannonia), Mosaburg, the fortress of Kocel, in Kärnten, between Klagenfurt and Feldkirch.

THE CHURCH'S CENTRALIZATION.

PERIOD THIRD. CENTURIES XI.-XV. (OR FROM THE COMPLETION OF THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF THE NORTHERN NATIONS TO THE REFORMATION). DIVISIONS OF THIS PERIOD: THE ERA OF THE GREAT MEDIEVAL DOCTORS AND LEADERS, CENTURIES XI.-XIII. THE ERA OF THE "REFORMERS BEFORE THE REFORMATION," CENTURIES XIV., XV.

LIFE I. ANSELM OF ENGLAND.

A. D. 1033?—A. D. 1109. CLERICAL LEADER, — ENGLAND.

ABOUT the year 1030, there came a gay knight, named Guadulf, out of Lombardy, and settled in Aosta in Piedmont, wedding a virtuous maiden of that town named Ermonberga. From their marriage came, besides a daughter Richera, a son whom they named Anselm, who was destined to be a noted light in science and in the church. Even as a boy he aspired to heaven. He ascended in his dreams the loftiest pinnacle of the neighboring Alps, to visit the dwelling of the great king who, his mother told him, had his throne in heaven and ruled the world. When scarce fifteen he wanted to be a monk, and presented his request to an abbot whom he knew, but was rejected because he had not the consent of his father. The boy then prayed that he might be very sick, since thus he could have his desire, for the fashion of the day was to allow the dying such a request, since monkhood was considered to be a door to heaven. Anselm did become sick. Still the abbot would not receive him. The youth now flew to the other extreme. Leaving books and devotions he took to knight-hood and grew bewitched of the world. Only his mother could curb his passions; soon he lost her, and "now the frail bark of his spirit was driven without an anchor over the world's ocean." Then there was awaked by God "an inner warfare." At variance with his father, and unable to remain near him, he decided to leave his home. He wandered three years through France and Burgundy. At last he reached Avranches in Normandy. Here he heard of the renown attained by the Norman Lanfranc, in the neighboring convent of Bec, as a teacher of theology. His old love for learning was aroused. He went to Bec, and zealously applied himself to books. His studies brought him into contact with monasticism. Its self-denial was nothing, he thought, to him who already had to forego so much. But where

Resides in Normandy.

should he live as a monk? In Bec? There he could not approach Lanfranc. He could still less distinguish himself in Cluny, or any other noted cloister, since these were already perfect; for he was thinking only of a grand field of activity. He was wont to say afterwards, when he thought of that period, "I was not yet tamed; the world in me was not dead." When he considered the question earnestly, he said, "How can he be a monk who only wants to satisfy his thirst for honor? Is not humility the first need of Christ's disciple, and where can I better practice this virtue than in Bec, with Lanfranc over me?" So he resolved to abide there. He entered the cloister when in his twenty-seventh year (1066).

Bec was then a most noted institution. It had been founded twenty years before by a Norman knight, Herluin, who, in the midst of a brilliant career at court, was taken with a solicitude for the saving of his soul, and who knew no better way than this of satisfying the craving of his heart. With two comrades of like convictions, he began to build a cloister on his estate of Bonneville, though without any acquaintance with the monastic life. In the deep decline of the convents in his country, he could find none to take as a model. He hence established his own as well as he knew how. Nevertheless his rule was quite like that which had been introduced by Benedict, and revived of late in the "Congregation of Cluny." Three years later Herluin removed his cloister, that had suffered by fire, to another place, by the brook (bec) which gave it its name, in the valley of the Rille. Here, in 1042, a helper came to him, who by the learning he brought gave the convent a new renown. This was Lanfranc, formerly teacher of law in Pavia, and student at the same time of logic and philosophy. After leaving his native city (1040) he had taught in Avranches. He was led on from philosophy to theology, and to the knowledge that till now his efforts had been of little value. So (1042) he suddenly left Avranches to find a place where he might live in calm contemplation of the things of God. In his journey he came one evening near the Rille, where he was overtaken by robbers who stripped him to his skin, and tied him to a tree, at some distance from the road. He had to stay in this painful position through a long night. His pain was the greater since he found to his dismay that with all his learning he could not console himself in prayer or in holy song. When he was released the next day by some passing travelers, whom he reached with his outcries, he inquired of them for the poorest cloister that they knew anywhere around. Received into it, he spent the next three years in complete seclusion, foregoing his science and devoting himself to religious exercises in order to learn how to pray. When he thought the conceit of his heart was subdued, he ventured to appear again as a teacher, and by the wish of Herluin, who named him his prior (1046), to set up a school, which soon grew to be a chief seat of learning, thronged by pupils from all the land.

Into this school and convent entered Anselm. He so soon partook of the thought and feeling there, that when Lanfranc (1063) was called to be abbot of a new cloister in Caen, he was chosen by Herluin to take his place as prior. In this office he was active in advancing the convent, in both its religious and its educational character. He was especially attentive to youth. For as wax must not be too hard or too soft in order to receive the seal, since when too hard it does not receive the impression, and when too soft loses it, so men that have busied themselves till old age with worldly things are too hardened to understand the secrets of the kingdom of heaven, and children are too soft to have fixed convictions respecting them. Youth is the period for the mind to be impressed, since independence and receptiveness are then happily united. Anselm disapproved the harsh discipline then prevailing in cloisters. Young people, like young trees, must have freedom if they are to grow. Hence he used to allow many a liberty to his pupils, in order to gain their confidence. When he had won this he would be more exacting, until he finally could deny them what at first he allowed. Through the young he influenced those older, who were not well pleased at first, because they thought he was made prior too suddenly; but at last committed themselves to him, when they saw that he possessed a rare insight into human hearts, and had the right word for every one. From abroad men sought him for religious advice. Not only was he called to other convents "to administer the bread of life," but he received almost daily visits and letters, from people of all stations in need of support, information, or encouragement. His was such pastoral zeal that "others grew weary of hearing sooner than he of warning and encouraging." It might be said of him, as of Martin of Tours, "Christ, Righteousness, and Life Eternal were with him more than words." He not only zealously practiced the care of souls, outside the hours of teaching, but responded to calls for help in cases of bodily need. He visited the hospital every day, asked what each one needed, and himself administered the medicines. "A father to the well, he was a mother to the sick, or rather mother and father to well and sick together." Notwithstanding the multitude of affairs which he thus had to look after, he contrived leisure for that which most suited him, theological contemplation. The day, indeed, was consumed by business; but the night could be given to this deepest yearning of his soul. Abstinence from sleep, with him, was like abstinence from food. The latter became such a habit after a few years that in fasting he hardly felt hunger; and rarely did he seek his bed before morning prayers. The brethren conducting them, when they went through the cloister, frequently found him not in the dormitory, but upon his knees in the chapter room. Even a later hour would find him still awake, applying himself to devotion and to study of the Scriptures and the fathers, or else resigning himself to re-

Succeeds Lan-
franc in Bec.

flection upon the great problems which had occupied him during his day's teaching. Thence grew his works, which constituted him the founder of a new era in theology, works which really accomplished what they aimed at, — the promotion of an "understanding of Christian faith." They afforded an insight into its mysteries, such as the church till that day had never enjoyed.

How his great books grew.

After Herluin's death (1078) Anselm was unanimously chosen abbot of the convent. There came on him now the guidance of its business matters, and though he committed them largely to experienced brethren whilst he undertook to conduct matters within doors, especially instruction and discipline, yet he could not wholly absolve himself from care, but had often to attend personally to matters not at all agreeable. For instance, he had to represent his institution on court-day in the shire, when often it was a noisy scene, one side trying to put down the other by outcries. Anselm would sit there quite calm, or in the midst of the tumult would preach a little sermon to those near him, or, if they would not listen, would resign himself to sleep. Still he was prepared, when his turn to speak came, to set his business forth in a right light in few words, and to put to shame all arts and intrigues of his opposers. Nor would he allow himself to be worried by cares that came in the household. For the cloister was still so utterly poor that often they did not know what they would have to live on the next day. To the outcries of the cook or butler he would answer, "Hope in the Lord, who will surely provide a way." And perhaps that very day there would come a present from a rich neighbor, or ships from England would sail up the Seine, with something for them, or some new member would join them, bringing his possessions. The most devoted hospitality prevailed in Bee. "Spaniards and Burgundians," says a contemporary, "as well as those near by, can testify that the doors of Bee are open to every one that knocks." When Anselm had a journey to make upon convent business, he employed it for the benefit of the sister convents and of the homes which he visited. He was everywhere welcome; for he went not as a teacher, but as a friend and companion. He uttered no abstractions, but availed himself of examples from life, striking pictures, apt speeches and allegories. He forced himself upon no one, but suited his manner as far as he could, conscientiously, to the customs of different classes. He laid aside his monastic strictness when he could only offend by severity, and with the Apostle sought to become all things to all men, that he might by all means save some. Thus he best promoted the interests of his house. Every one was anxious to help it. Even William the Conqueror, that terrible lord, was one of Anselm's patrons. The popes of the age showed good will. Urban Second relieved him from all episcopal jurisdiction. For fifteen years (1078-1093) Anselm had been abbot, as he had for fifteen years (1063-1078) been prior. The convent was greatly

prospered. Herluin had in forty years received one hundred and thirty-six members; Anselm, in his fifteen, one hundred and eighty. On both sides the channel it was made the model. It sent out colonies here and there. It educated men for bishops and archbishops.

An appointment to such an office (1093) took Anselm from the cloister. He had to go often to England, to look after the How he came into England. convent property. He won everybody's heart there. The archbishopric of Canterbury was vacant (1089). There was the greatest need of its being filled, for the English church was wickedly oppressed by William the Conqueror's successor, William Rufus. Only a powerful primate could give relief, and all who took the church's distress to heart were looking to Anselm. The king did not see the need of filling the office, for he was drawing its income during the vacancy. As if in scorn he permitted (1092) that God should be asked to fill the place, or that public prayers to this end should be offered. He thought he would still control the matter; but he was taken sick (February, 1093), and in mortal anguish allowed a promise to be wrung from him to give a leader to the church. Anselm, then in the vicinity, was summoned, and the king was influenced to give him the office. In vain did Anselm resist. The staff was forced into his hands, and a deaf ear turned to his representations. There was no alternative. He had to obey the universal cry, though he knew well that the severest struggles were before him. He would have to undertake, as his first duty, the reëstablishment of the church's liberties.

The conflict began soon after his taking office (September 25, 1093). The king, when hardly recovered, returned to his old ways, and treated the church merely as a means to enrich his treasury. "Christ's bread is a profitable bread," he used to say; "the crown has spent half its income on the church, why shall I not have it back?" He quarreled with Anselm, when the latter sent, as a token of homage, but five hundred pounds, and refused to send more, though the king threatened him. Other offices like that of Canterbury had been left vacant, so that the king could take their revenues. Anselm wished them filled, and besides desired a general synod, to amend the corruption of morals. The king refused. When Anselm thought to go to the pope for help, the king strove to deprive him of help from that quarter. He availed himself of the schism created (1080) by Henry Fourth, setting up an anti-pope, and took on himself to say who was lawful pope in England. He had heretofore been neutral, in order to rule the church himself. Anselm had favored Urban Second. At last (1095) the king recognized Urban, and his plots against Anselm ceased. Still the reformatory movements of the latter did not prosper. First, the king found a pretext in his occupation of Normandy (which had been left by William the Conqueror to his eldest son, Robert, who now, in order to take part in the first crusade, commit-

ted it, for three years, to his brother, the king of England). Next, when he had returned to England (1097), he had to subdue a Welsh insurrection. After that, every one hoped he would listen to Anselm. Instead, he threatened him with the law, for the bad condition of the troops sent to his aid by the archbishop. In short, he utterly refused Anselm the right of speaking. As the pope was not acknowledged in England, Anselm decided to go to him in person, to seek his arbitration. The king declared if he did he would be counted deposed, and his revenues be taken by the crown. Anselm thought the present good had better be sacrificed than the dignity and liberty of the church, and so set out on his journey (1097). Taken ill in Lyons, he first reached Rome in May, 1098. He was well received by Urban, who at once wrote to the king, asking freedom of action for Anselm. As an early answer could not be expected, Anselm was invited to stay near Rome till he heard the result of the letter. An invitation was accepted from an old pupil at Bee, the abbot John of St. Salvador, in Telesi, who proffered him as a residence a property of his cloister, named Selavia, on a high, breezy summit, overlooking the Campagna. In this inviting solitude, Anselm passed the summer, finishing his most important work, that which gave an answer to the question, "Why does God be-
Writes "Cur Deus Homo?"
 come man?" the most difficult that religion can put to reason. Only once did Anselm descend to the plain, namely, when he would meet the Norman chiefs of South Italy, then besieging the rebellious Capua. He visited them in their camp. There he greatly impressed the Saracens, led by duke Roger of Sicily. In October he went with Urban to Bari, where his influence did much to win the day for the Latin doctrine respecting the "Procession of the Holy Ghost," against the Greek. Thence he returned to Rome, and received the answer of his king, — a decided negative. Urban pronounced the king excommunicated, unless by September 29, 1099, he restored to Anselm his office. Before that day came Urban was dead, and his successor, Paschal Second, would not at once renew the contest. Anselm had left Rome (April, 1099), and was with an old friend, archbishop Hugo, of Lyons. The next year the king died (1100), upon a hunt in the new forest of Winchester; and Henry First, his brother, at once recalled the exile, and promised to do away with the existing abuses. Yet he fell out with Anselm, because the latter would not take his office as from the king, with an oath of homage.¹ Yet Anselm stood true to Henry when duke Robert (September, 1100) returned from the East, and contested the throne of England. Though the barons were disposed to join Robert, Anselm helped Henry to the utmost. But he would not do homage to the king for his office, since he thought it opposed the church's liberties. The king, on the other hand, feared his

¹ On account of the decision of a synod in Rome (April, 1099), attended by Anselm, which prohibited the conferring of church offices by laymen, and the administration of the oath of office to clergymen by laymen.

rule would be endangered if the clergy were not kept dependent. Finally (1100), Henry sent one of his trusted servants to Rome, to effect, if possible, a change of the decree, and when he returned unsuccessful (1101) he resolved to send a second embassy to press the demand. On its return (May, 1102), there came out the annoying fact that the papal letter which they brought did not agree with the reply given them by the pope verbally. While the letter wholly denied the king the right of "investiture," Paschal had said that the king should exercise the right, if only he appointed proper persons. There was no way but to send a third embassy to Rome, and this only confirmed (March, 1103) the letter. The king would not yield his right, and put it on Anselm to go to Rome to obtain a favorable decision.

Anselm lamented the situation. Hence, when he had leave given him simply to make a statement of facts, without going as an advocate, he consented to make the journey; yet he knew it was intended as a banishment. This soon became evident, for when the pope persevered in denying the king the right of investiture, the ambassador who had come to Rome with Anselm declared that his master would not allow the latter to go back to England. Anselm was obliged to seek shelter abroad, and found it again with his friend in Lyons. He in vain sought to win the king by letter. After the third epistle, the correspondence was interrupted. The bishops who took office from the king, and the royal advisers, were excommunicated by Paschal, at a council in the Lateran (1105). He delayed action against the king from time to time, as the latter kept sending embassies. After a year and a half Anselm resolved himself to adopt the last resort. He approached (May, 1105) the place in Normandy where the king was fighting his brother Robert, in order to publish his excommunication. He announced his intention to the king's sister, countess Adela of Blois, an old patroness of the convent of Bec. She hastened to tell her brother, who did not want matters to come to this extremity. Accordingly the king contrived an interview (July, 1105) with Anselm in L'Aigle castle, and declared his willingness to give up the investiture, if he could have the oath. Anselm could not grant this, yet

Ends the church
war in Britain.

when the pope as arbitrator agreed with the king, he consented. At a second meeting (August, 1106), in Bec, all the other points were settled. Anselm returned to England amid general rejoicings. The best understanding thereafter prevailed between him and Henry. The king adopted his reforms. He even made Anselm his vicar when he left England for a time. The church was respected. The first conflict between state and church in England was ended.

With the same zeal that he showed for the church's liberty, Anselm sought also her unity. He succeeded in bringing the bishops who aimed at independence, and also the archbishop of York, into connection with Canterbury. This was with him but a means to an end. His heart

was set on restoring morals and discipline. Hence he had zealously demanded a general synod, which alone could establish general laws. He had the happiness of obtaining it (1102 and 1106). A succession of strong measures was adopted. The clergy were put in mind of their duties. The demoralization of the people, and the licentiousness, especially of the Normans, met with the severest penalties. Anselm was well aware that little could be achieved by decrees, unless the prevailing sentiments were changed. This could best be effected by example, and hence his chief care was to reform the cloisters. They were to be the homes of light and life after him. They were to present a perfect Christianity, and by this influence in turn the world. Anselm bestowed much thought upon them, giving them fit leaders, and himself helping to lead, sending them pastoral letters from time to time, with fatherly admonitions, counsels, and warnings.

His fidelity to England, and not to her only, for his primacy included Scotland, Ireland, and the neighboring islands, was equaled by his care for his own immediate charge, the county of Kent. He made visitations to find how things were in the various parishes, and to regulate them on the spot. His best efforts were given the convent that was connected with the cathedral. It was a seminary for clergy; its older members acted as his cathedral canons. He found in it a second Bee. Here he "took breath," when he was tired of the worldly business connected with his office. This was the most irksome of his burdens, so that he exclaimed that he would rather be a school-boy trembling before his teacher's rod, than sit in the chair of an archbishop. It was a relief, when he could join the youth in the convent, or withdraw to a quiet corner of a room to sit in meditation. Reflection upon religious truth was ever his dearest delight. The results of it he published from time to time in treatises on theology.

Anselm ever adhered to the ascetic life that had grown to be a second nature. In time it wore upon him. In consequence of frequent fasts and vigils, he suffered sleeplessness and loss of appetite, attended by fits of fever. He suffered a serious attack when in his seventy-third year (1106) another the following spring. He grew too weak to ride horseback, and had to be carried in a litter. A third illness (July, 1108), took all his strength. All food grew nauseous. He had to force himself to eat. He grew worse, till in the spring of 1109 he could no longer be carried to church. Lying in his bed, he gave admonitions to all who came to him. On Palm Sunday one of his attendants said that he would probably celebrate Easter at the court of another than an earthly monarch. "It seems so," he said, "and I will gladly obey his call. Yet I would be grateful if I were allowed to live longer here, and permitted to solve a question that greatly occupies my mind respecting the origin of the soul. If I could taste anything, I

would be well, for besides the extreme weakness, I suffer nothing." On Tuesday evening he could no longer speak so as to be understood. His voice was gone. He was asked by bishop Radulf, of Rochester, if he would not give his blessing and absolution to his children there and elsewhere, the king and queen and people. He raised himself, made the sign with the right hand, and let his head fall on his breast. After midnight, when the brethren in the cathedral were chanting morning prayers, one of his attendants took the gospel and read the lesson of the day. When he came to the words, "Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations, and I appoint unto you a kingdom as my Father hath appointed unto me; that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom," Anselm breathed heavily, and as day broke (Wednesday, April 21, 1109) he fell asleep, and entered the kingdom to which on earth his soul had been joined, and his labors given.— F. R. H.

LIFE II. BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX.

A. D. 1091—A. D. 1153. CLERICAL LEADER, — FRANCE.

GOD has endowed our race, every man with his own peculiar gifts. He calls us thus in mutual dependence and affection to help and perfect one another. What He demands of the race He seeks also in the church, of which He is as truly the author. Diverse minds with varied powers and aims are to work together for edification. Men of restless fiery energy, in one place, are to push on external enterprises. Reflective spirits, in another, may withdraw themselves within their heart sanctuaries and pass their lives in meditation. Nor are their thoughts, born of souls enkindled with heaven's own fire, in the hours of prayer and holy contemplation, of less value than the deeds done by their fellows. They, too, animate and influence their own and succeeding ages. God wants both Marys and Marthas; for He does not rebuke the business energy of the latter, but the forgetting, in the midst of it, the one thing needful. When, however, a single individual rises up, uniting both characters in one, and consecrating talents of opposite kinds to God's service, he indeed becomes a leader in his generation. And such is Bernard, whom we feel bound to call saint, even as do our Romanist brethren. Yet only in the Scriptural sense, for the Word of God acknowledges but one true saint, and calls the many saints only in that they bear his likeness, it may be in dim reflection.

Like others of the church's greatest teachers, Bernard became what he was through the training of a pious mother. His life began in 1091, in Fontaines, in Burgundy, not far from Dijon. His family were knightly

and illustrious. His mother Aleth, the model of a Christian woman, carried her dear child, at the earliest possible moment, into the church, and dedicated him to God to live a perfectly con-^{His mother}secrated life. ^{Aleth.} Her conception of that life was best realized in the convents, where dwelt men who devoted themselves to prayer and study and to deeds of love, in happy contrast with the knights in their rude revelings, or the bishops in their worldly ambitions. She intended Bernard for such a life, and moulded, in no small degree, his youthful spirit. But when she was taken from him, as a child, his mind was drawn away in other directions; still her image and influence were ever with him, until at last he resisted no longer. It was when he was twenty-three, and on a visit to his brothers, who were engaged as knights in their vocation, besieging a castle. He was so overcome by memories of his mother, that he entered a church by the roadside, poured out his soul in prayer to God, and wholly dedicated himself to the manner of life to which he had been devoted by his mother. Since Bernard could do nothing half-way, he made choice of a religious order, then rising, that was noted for its strictness, — so much so that its severity kept all save a few from joining it. This was the Cistercian, named from the Citeaux convent near Dijon. Soon by his example and his remarkable eloquence he carried with him into the order his four brothers and others of his kinsmen. It illustrated the great longing for heaven that possessed men in that day, that his oldest brother called to the youngest, who was playing boy-fashion on the street, saying, “Look, now all our lands and castles are yours;” and the child answered, “*You* take heaven, and leave *me* earth; that is not a fair division.”

Bernard, from the start, performed with burning zeal every duty in the cloister, however severe. No sacrifice was too great for him. He exceeded all proper limits in his enthusiastic exertions in the way of toil, privation, or penance. He was forced to regret afterwards that he had thereby injured his health, and disqualified himself physically for many a duty, to which he might otherwise have been equal. Yet all the more on this account did his age reverence him; all the more were they impressed, in that his haggard form witnessed his self-privation; his enthusiasm and burning eloquence were poured forth from a fragile, perishing vessel. Hence Bernard could produce such tremendous effects by his appearance and his gestures, and by the tones of his voice, even in strange lands where he spoke an unknown tongue. As long as he was traveling and toiling, in cloister service, in field and forest, he was educating his heart in prayer and meditation under the mighty teaching of nature, which to him was God's temple. Hence rose in him those wells of living water from which afterwards he drew to refresh his fellows. Hence from his own experience, he could write to a comrade, “Believe one who has tried it; thou canst find more in the woods than in books.

Trees and stones will teach thee what thou canst not learn from masters."

Founds Clair-vaux.
 Bernard gave the community which he had entered a new life. In three years he was called to be the leader of a colony sent out by the parent society. A new convent was to be set up in a wild, unfruitful valley inclosed by high mountains. The region (in the bishopric of Langres) had been the resort of a band of robbers, and so bore the name of "The Valley of Wormwood;" now a house of God was to rise, opposing the rule of Satan. The convent should be named "The Valley of Light," or, as it is in the Latin and French, "Clairvaux." Bernard should be its abbot. By hard work on the part of the monks, whom he animated and led, the rough land was subdued and made fruitful. The convent, after manifold deprivations, acquired great wealth, and with it blessed the nation. At the time of a severe famine in Burgundy, when crowds of starving from every side besieged the convent, two thousand of them, carefully selected and marked by a badge sewn on their sleeves, were provided with all the necessaries of life for two months, while others received occasional supplies. Soon the convent attained such a wide renown that colonies were wanted everywhere in order to build up convents upon the same model. At the end of Bernard's life there were societies in existence in England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Italy, in all one hundred and sixty. Hence came that extended correspondence, in the Latin language, carried on by Bernard with all these countries.

His words to tempted ones.
 Bernard was a home missionary. He interested himself in men who by the gross neglect of those savage days had been led into serious crimes. His influence rescued them from capital punishment. His care for their souls, assisted by the strict discipline and the Christian associations of the convent, led them to penitence and genuine reformation. Thus it happened once, when Bernard was on a visit to count Theobald of Champagne, who was willing in every benevolent enterprise to follow his leadership, that he met a throng of people conducting a robber guilty of many crimes to the scaffold. He at once asked the count to make him a present of the criminal; and the man lived for thirty years afterwards in his convent, ending his days in faith and peace. In his care of souls Bernard showed great wisdom. The words he spoke to his comrades on the temptations that try the soul seeking perfection are worthy to be taken to heart by Christians of all ages who have like conflicts. He warns against the loss of rest and joy by incessant brooding upon self or sin. He says, "I admonish you, friends, to rise at times from the anxious consideration of your own conduct to a view of the divine beneficence, that ye who grow ashamed, studying yourselves, may be made buoyant by looking up to God. Sorrow for sin is needful, but should not be incessant. It must be relieved by glad re-

fleitions upon God's grace, lest the heart be made callous through grief, and by despairing perish. God's grace is greater than any sin. Therefore a good man makes not his whole prayer, but only its beginning, a self-accusation; the conclusion of the prayer is a doxology." In another discourse to his brothers, he says: "Oft we draw near the altar with lukewarm, barren hearts, offering our prayers; but abiding there, we are of a sudden overwhelmed with grace, the heart grows full, and the soul overflows with holy emotion." He warns against dangerous, one-sided, fanatic tendencies, and youthful extravagances, such as he had fallen into. He says: "It is self-will that teaches you to squander your vital energies, and give no heed to reason. A good spirit was given you, but has been ill-treated by you. I fear that another spirit will come, and under the guise of a good spirit will deceive you; and that so you who have begun in the spirit will end in the flesh. God is wisdom, and wants not a resigning of one's self to happy feelings, but a love that has wisdom to direct it."

Bernard turned men from trying to make their own righteousness sufficient, and so plunging themselves into every trouble. He directed them to the righteousness of Christ as the sure ground of trust. He proclaimed this foundation truth of the evangelical church more clearly and simply than had any one for centuries. He says in one sermon: "Christ is called not only righteous, but righteousness itself, our justifying righteousness. Thou art mighty in justifying as Thou art rich in pardoning. Let the soul, penitent for its sins, hungering and thirsting after righteousness, believe on Him who justifies the ungodly through faith, and it shall have peace with God." In another sermon: "None is without sin. It justifies me, if He against whom I have sinned is merciful to me. What He has resolved not to impute to me is as if it had never existed. To be sinless is God's righteousness; his forgiveness is man's righteousness." Once a brother had fallen into great distress of soul, through doubts tormenting him, and so dared not partake of the Lord's Supper. Bernard labored with him in vain. He insisted that he had no faith, and without faith he could not approach the body of the Lord. "Then," said Bernard, in a tone of heavenly assurance, such as a Paul or a Luther could have used, "go confidently and take the Lord's body upon my faith." The monk, thus addressed, yielded to Bernard's decisive way. Regardless of his doubts, he partook of the sacrament, and found rest and peace of soul.

Bernard often was called to regions far and near, to settle differences between princes, to reconcile rulers and subjects, or to make peace where violent passions were kindling or threat-
He stands before kings.
 ening war. Even from a bed of sickness he rose to obey such calls. His counsel was sought by kings, popes, and emperors. His help was asked in difficult situations. Speaking frankly the truth, he incurred disfavor

with the court of Rome. Innocent Third and Eugenius Second had recourse to him, when driven away from Rome by the unruly citizens. They owed their return largely to his energy and eloquence. Twice Bernard went to Italy to quiet the turbulent people. He so affected men's minds as to produce extraordinary phenomena. There are accounts of the healing of the sick, from eye-witnesses, so simple and lucid that we dare not doubt their accuracy; and who can say what results may be produced by Christ's agents, in his name, and with his help? Since divine forces have entered in Christ to help mankind, we are not to define too carefully the natural and the supernatural. Yet the true Christian lays small stress upon such facts as are told of Bernard. He himself says: "Christ counts as blessed, not those who raise the dead, give sight to the blind, heal the sick, subdue evil spirits, or predict future events, but rather the poor in spirit, the meek, those who are sorrowful for sin, who hunger and thirst after righteousness, the merciful, the pure in heart, the peacemakers, those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake."

When (1145) the papacy fell to one of Bernard's pupils, Eugenius Third, Bernard wrote him to check the corruption of the papal court. "Who can assure me that I shall, before I die, see God's church as it was in the old days, when the Apostles cast their nets, not for gold or silver, but for souls? How do I wish that thou mightst have the spirit of him whose place you occupy, of him who said, 'Thy money perish with thee!' Oh, that Zion's foes might tremble, and be overwhelmed by this word of thunder. This your mother expects and demands of thee. Thy mother's sons, great and small, are longing, sighing for this, that every plant that our heavenly Father hath not planted be by thee rooted up." Lest the pope should be dazzled by the immense power given him, and the splendor of worldly glory, Bernard reminds him of the sudden death of his predecessors. He says, "Remember ever that thou art but man, and let the fear of Him who takes away the lives of kings be ever before thee." When Eugenius had returned from exile (1148), Bernard, in his book, "On Contemplation," contrasted with utmost frankness the papacy as it was with the papacy as it ought to be. He opposed the worldliness of pope and church, telling Eugenius that he could not be successor to Constantine the emperor, and Peter the Apostle, nor unite earthly and spiritual power; and predicted that if he attempted both he would lose both. "Make trial," he wrote, "of uniting the two; as a prince, try to fill the place of an apostle; or, as an apostle's successor, try to fill the place of a prince; you will have to give up one or the other! If you insist on having the two places at once, you will have neither." And then he threatened him with Hosea's words on usurping princes (Hos. viii. 4).

Bernard's achievements in France and Germany in exciting the sec-

and crusade, we pass over. There, too, the love of Christ inspired him, but not that pure Christ-like flame that transfigures the feelings and emotions. That would attack unbelievers only ^{His course in the crusades.} with the sword of the Spirit; would win only bloodless victories. Yet even in the crusade, we must extol many a thing in Bernard that shows his profound knowledge of human nature, and marks him as Christ's true disciple. When in the pope's name he was exhorting all to the crusade, and his words with mighty power were swaying men's souls, it happened that many a one, led by him to repentance, wanted rather to follow Bernard and seek perfection in the cloister than to go crusading. The pilgrimage to the heavenly Jerusalem by a life of contemplation seemed better than that to the earthly Jerusalem. Bernard thoroughly tested any that would so follow him. Many a one he rejected, as unsuited for the clerical life, and in need rather of the discipline given by the struggles and toils of every-day existence; these he advised to join the expedition.

In the region of the Rhine lived a fanatic monk named Rudolph. Rising up, he called on the people to begin by extirpating the infidels at home, especially the Jews. Defenseless thousands were either slain or driven by fear to submit hypocritically to baptism. The church leaders, while disapproving these barbarities, could not quench the fanatic fury. Bernard with righteous anger wrote to Germany against the movement, which he termed devilish. "Does not the church vanquish the Jews more effectually by showing them from day to day their errors, than by slaying them by the sword?" He appealed to the prayers everywhere offered for the conversion of the Jews. He says, "There is a promise of the general conversion of the Jews. How will it be fulfilled if they are annihilated? Where no Jews reside there are Christian usurers (if, indeed, we may call them Christians, and not Jews disguised by Christian baptism), and they are the worst of Jews." Bernard then went in person to the scene of the trouble, and did what he only could do: he reduced the fanatic leader to obedience and quiet, and appeased the rage of the mob. A Jew, who was an eye-witness, returned thanks to Bernard for saving his people, who but for him had utterly perished in the massacre.

Bernard made a war against that obscure scholasticism that tried to comprehend and explain all subjects whatsoever. He distinguished himself as the champion of a simple, hearty faith. He by no means despised science, but acknowledged it as God's gift, to be consecrated and made useful for the church's service. But he wanted science to begin with humility, the understanding of God to be preceded by the understanding of self. He was thoroughly assured that God must be sought and found by another way than science. "God," says he, "may be more fitly sought and more easily found by prayer than by scientific endeavor." The heart, he thinks, must find God first. Faith is the anticipation of a

truth veiled to the intellect by the heart under the influence of the will. "Nothing," he said, "will be wanting to our bliss, when the hidden substance of faith is open to our understanding." Bernard, thinking thus, was apt to be unjust to men in whom love of science predominated.

His debate with Abelard. This appears in his contest with Abelard, who, himself a believer, wanted faith and science harmonized. He, alas, failed through the discords of his own life. He was not a unit, with all parts in harmony, as was Bernard, to whom a childlike faith gave the keynote of existence. The latter, while not without fault in his way of disputing, was zealous for faith in Christ as everything. He exalted Christ as the ideal and model of holiness, saying, "How lovely art Thou, O Lord, even in human form! Not alone for thy miracles, but thy truth, meekness, and justice! Happy is he who closely observes Thee as Thou walkest a man among men, and strives with all his might to be like Thee." Bernard knew that strength came only in union with Christ, the Saviour of men, our Saviour. He says: "Three things are here: humble self-abasement, love manifested even to the death of the cross, and saving power, conquering the grave. The first two are nothing without the third. Humility and love are grand as examples for us, but the sure rock is found only in the payment of the ransom."

When Bernard came home from long journeys in the church's service, from long contests and toils, and enjoyed in his cloister times of meditation, his favorite resort was an arbor. There he composed those smaller works of his that so influenced and edified his generation. Especially may be noted his treatise entitled "Love to God." In it he says, "This love wants no reward, it has it within itself, in Him who is its object. He is the reward." He shows how God leads man from the temporal to the eternal, by first helping him in temporal things, and so gaining his heart. Then he describes four degrees in the love that would banish selfishness. The highest degree is in union with God, to love self and everything for God's sake only. To such a height can the soul rise only in the most exalted moments of earthly existence. Herein is to be found the happiness of the life everlasting.

When in his sixty-third year, Bernard with great effort rose from his sick-bed for the last time, to answer a call to go to restore peace along the Rhine. Having achieved this, purely by his power over men's hearts, he came home very near his end. No longer able to write, he dictated his last letter, adding a few words with a feeble hand. Describing to his friend his state, he closes with these words: "And further, in order that from a friend so anxious about a friend's condition there may nothing be hidden, be assured that in this weak flesh is a spirit strong after the inner man. Pray the Saviour, who willeth not the death of a sinner, that He delay not my departure, for which it is now time, but vouchsafe it under his own leadership. Support with your prayers one who claims

no merit of his own, so that the pursuing enemy may find no place to hurt me."

And so he fell asleep, encompassed by the love and sorrow of his pupils, in the year 1153. — A. N.

LIFE III. LOUIS OF FRANCE.

A. D. 1215 — A. D. 1270. LAICAL LEADER, — FRANCE.

LOUIS NINTH, son of Louis Eighth and Bianca, was born in 1215.¹ From his devout, watchful mother he received the most careful training. He became king when not quite eleven years old. While the boy's soul was guarded by Bianca's piety, by her prudence his throne was maintained against rebellious nobles. In the war with the latter, the king, then in his thirteenth year, persistently accompanied his troops, and showed such courage and firmness that his foes lost courage, and sued for peace and pardon. When eighteen he assumed the government in person. Not long after he took as his wife Margaret, the oldest daughter of count Raymond of Provence. His queen was honored by her age for dauntless courage and devoted piety. That the queen-mother still wielded great influence must not be set down to the king's weakness, but to his filial spirit. Certainly no lack of independence was shown, when directly upon his assuming power he reformed the courts, corrected abuses in the government, raised the standard of knighthood, and repulsed the encroachments of an Innocent upon the rights of the French churches. "We expressly prohibit," so runs a royal decree, "the intolerable exactions of taxes by the Romish court, which impoverish the church of our realm, save when such are sought for a good cause and with the consent of ourselves and our government." Yet Louis, unlike his neighbor kings, would not quarrel with the popes, and compelled from them the acknowledgment of his sincere piety and his fidelity to his church. His justice and love of peace won him many times the place of arbiter between kings who were at strife. He was a man of peace, but he also feared not war.

When Louis was thirty-one (1244), Palestine was overrun by hordes of Carizmians, set in motion by the Mongols, and helped by the Sultan of Egypt. Jerusalem was taken after a battle near Gaza, the Holy Sepulchre destroyed, the bones of the kings burned to ashes, and the most wanton outrages and barbarities inflicted on the land and its in-

¹ His father was then the Dauphin of France. Pope Innocent III. was celebrating at the Fourth Lateran Synod the zenith of papal power and glory. The life of Louis Ninth witnessed the pope's struggle for supremacy with the emperor Frederick II. Louis's father and grandfather helped the papacy against the Albigenes with their armies. His father met his death after the siege of Avignon, 1226.

habitants. When this heart-rending news reached the West, king Louis was languishing on a sick-bed; a severe illness had followed his last war with England (December, 1244). His recovery was despaired of by the physicians. The deepest sorrow overwhelmed his wife, his mother, the court, and indeed all France. People gathered to the churches of the great cities to pray for him. The bishop and the barons near Paris betook themselves to the king's side. For days they waited in anxiety the counsel of God. On the 23d of December, Louis lay almost the whole day unconscious and motionless. He was thought dead by one of the two noble ladies who nursed him, but when she would have laid a cloth over his face, the other insisted that he still breathed slightly. Suddenly the sick man had speech given him of God. He wanted a cross to be sewed on his garments, thus showing what had passed in his mind. The glad

news of his amendment brought the queen-mother to his side, to be astounded by the cross of silk fastened on his shoulder. Nor could his decision be changed by arguments or entreaties. For the next year, he was in search of comrades. His unwilling courtiers he compelled by a stratagem. The usual royal Christmas gift, a mantle of fur, he presented to each in a dimly lighted hall, whence they were to go to an early service. Reaching the brightly illumined church each was amazed to see on his comrade's shoulder a cross of fine gold embroidery. "Half laughing, half crying," they submitted, but not without awarding the king the nickname of the "New Fisher of Men."

Among the hindrances to a crusade, not the least was the strife between Innocent and Frederick of Germany, who, ever since his crusade (1228), was entitled the king of Jerusalem. The contest, great historically, was carried on often in a very small way. Two years of negotiations taught Louis that it was a thankless task to mediate between such foes. Finally (1247), he preferred the side of Frederick, and, having no fear of Germany attacking his realm, was ready for departure. He assembled the magnates of France to arrange the affairs of the nation. Queen Bianca, with the bishop of Paris, at the request of the barons, once more attempted to change his purpose, pointing out to him the invalidity of the vow made by him when incapable of calm reflection. "Very well," the king said, "if ye so judge, I here give you the cross back." With that he tore it from his shoulder, and gave it to the bishop. Then, before they had time to express their delight, he went on with resolute tone, "Do ye judge that I am now either sick in body or weak in mind? Then I demand again the holy ensign, nor will I take food till this request is fulfilled." And neither his mother nor the bishop dared to say a word further.

Zealous preparation went on (1248) throughout France for the expedition. This crusade, the sixth in order, is characterized in the saying, "Poor in light, rich in power and heat." In this whole crusading effort,

church and world, the spiritual and the earthy, were mingled. Gay farewell parties alternated with grave religious exercises. Louis bade all his subjects to present every complaint they had against him, pledging unconditional redress. His example was largely imitated by his barons. Pilgrimages to places of prayer prevailed everywhere. Setting out from St. Denis, the scene of the farewell service, the king traveled to the harbor of Aiguesmortes, wearing armor and clothing of the plainest fashion, which he never changed in his whole life afterwards. He abjured furs, and garments of scarlet or other rich colors, costly spurs, and like ornaments. In this he was copied by his nobles, so that not an embroidered dress was to be seen in the entire army. He sailed the 25th of August, a day afterwards set apart by the church to his memory. His undertaking cannot here be followed in detail, even though some of the less noted traits of the king might thus be illustrated. His fruitless attack on Egypt, the key, as he rightly perceived, to Palestine, and four years of unsuccessful delay in the Holy Land, whence only the news of his mother's death recalled him, prove his lofty courage and his humble endurance.

While Louis is returning home, we will borrow from the biography written by the seneschal Joinville, his trusty adviser, a few of the features of his character, and reproduce them here. His portrait by his friend. His whole life was influenced by the careful and almost too anxious training of his devout mother. The strictest monks were selected for his teachers and confessors. Even as king, he had one such who tormented him beyond measure with systematic scourgings. Louis calmly submitted, but, after the monk's death, jestingly informed his successor that he had suffered beyond reason. His wife was under the same influence. Only with his mother's leave could Louis visit her, and then Bianca went with him. Once, when Margaret was sick, Louis went to her without leave. When they were enjoying a confidential talk, Bianca's steps were heard. As the king could not escape, he hid behind the bed curtains. His mother, entering, surveyed the room as usual, discovered her son, and drew him out. Leading him to the door, she informed him that he had no business there. Margaret indignantly cried, "My God, what are you doing, mother? Can I, neither living nor dying, see my lord and husband?" and sank back, fainting. Louis, concerned for his wife's life, indeed came back to her, but would not disclose to his mother the unseemliness of her conduct, unless through his eye.

The religion of Louis certainly had a mediæval impress. He served the church of the age in which he was born. So we see him at the siege of Cesarea in the ranks of the common pilgrims, bearing baskets of earth upon his shoulders, for which labor special indulgences were pledged by the papal legate. And still by his study of the Scriptures and the

fathers he had acquired a higher knowledge. Opposing the miracle-seeking superstition, he would repeat a saying of Count Simon Montfort. The latter had been asked to go to see Christ's form in a consecrated wafer, and had replied, "Do you, that are unbelievers, go. For my part, I can believe what God says without the sight. The advantage we have over the angels is that they believe what they see, we believe without seeing." Once Louis remarked to his son: "Thou art greatly in error, if thou thinkest that liberal endowments, gifts to monks, and the like, atone for sin! Nothing but a believing life, a loving demeanor, and above all, God's grace, is able to save." Such a declaration was a great deal for that period.

All the acts of Louis were controlled by the law of God. He found it the sure rule for serious enterprises and joyous recreations. Nor would he allow its limits to be transgressed in his presence. Once when the talk at his table turned on diseases, Louis asked Joinville whether he would rather be guilty of a mortal sin or have the leprosy, when the latter replied, "Rather twenty mortal sins than be a leper." The king said nothing, but took him aside afterwards and said, "How canst thou speak so. Knowest thou not that there is no leprosy worse than sin? When the man dies, he is cured of the bodily leprosy, but his sin clings to his soul, and will bring him to damnation, if he has not repented and received the divine pardon." He followed these words with a heartfelt admonition.

Such fear of God he sought to instill into his children also. He assembled them every evening "to teach them the fear of God." He presented the promises and threatenings of God, and related examples of good and bad rulers. Once, at such a time, he said to his oldest son Louis, who died sooner than himself, "I would prefer that some Scotchman or other foreigner should take the people of this realm and rule well and lawfully than that thou shouldst ever rule blamefully and badly." He began a letter to his daughter Isabella, queen of Navarre, with the following words: "My beloved daughter, I beseech thee, love our Lord with all thy might, for without it none can have anything good. Nor is any so worthy of our love as the Lord, to whom all his creatures may cry, Thou art my God, and ever doest good to me!—who sent his Son into the world resigned to death in order to save us from dying eternally. To love Him, my daughter, is to thine own advantage, and the measure of this love must be to love Him beyond measure. He deserves our love, since He first loved us."

It was a matter of common fame that Louis on many sacred days devoted himself wholly to the reading and contemplation of God's Word, and that he would allow some passage which he remembered, or was reminded of, to influence his decisions. Once the relatives of a noted criminal chose Good Friday, on which day the king used to read the

whole Psalter through, to gain access to him, and beg pardon for the condemned. Louis suspended his reading at their entrance, keeping his finger at the verse he was about to read, and, having heard their petition, gave a favorable answer. Scarcely had the petitioners gone out, when the king read further, and found under his finger the verse, "The Lord is just, and loveth justice." Immediately he sent for the judge of the court, and when he had heard from him how wickedly the prisoner had done, he let him be punished according to the sentence. He thus, against the inclinations of his own heart, submitted himself to the Word of God.

Louis was qualified by heavenly wisdom for sitting as a judge in earthly affairs. He was made all the more zealous by his knowledge of God's truth and God's will in fulfilling his worldly calling. Divine grace only increased and displayed his natural talents. He could be fairly extolled for wisdom and penetration by all his counselors. In weighty matters, he listened attentively to the various opinions, then took days for reflection, without saying a word, and finally gave his decision, in such words as made it like apples of gold in pictures of silver. Quietly and correctly he solved the most difficult knots, and hence was frequently called by other princes to arbitrate in their disputes. As a recent writer says, "Nearly all Europe traveled to the oak at Vincennes, where the holy Louis, often luckless in war, executed Christian justice." Allusion is here made to the king's allowing his subjects to seek justice at his hands on his pleasure walks, and then sitting down under a tree to reflect and pass judgment. In Vincennes and his other courts such spots were long reverently marked and pointed out. As we construct from all these lineaments the portrait of Louis, we discover how it was that he was not so much loudly extolled by his age as silently esteemed. He did not astonish his neighbors by brilliant deeds, but filled his successors with wonder at his radiant virtues. The pen of history does not portray him in the dazzling splendor of worldly renown, but in the holy radiance of genuine piety.

Returning from the Holy Land, Louis found a realm disordered in every part and portion. A woman's hand could not restrain the universal insubordination and contention, hence his years became not years of rest, but of most arduous labor, even to the destruction of his health. Yet he found leisure to establish at this time that famed school in Paris for the better training of the clergy, which bore the name of Robert Sorbon, the king's confessor, and is known still as the "Sorbonne." In the midst of his labors, cares, and anxieties, his burning zeal for the liberation of the Holy Land was not extinguished.

He had accustomed himself to account it the chief task of his life. His zeal was fanned into a flame of purpose by the new cry of Eastern Christians for aid (1260). Nor was his resolution changed by the needs of France and its people, the dissuasions of those around him, or the

Plans the seventh crusade.

decided opposition of his faithful Joinville. The latter declared that he thought he could serve God better if he would protect and govern his subjects; and in his writings expressed his conviction that whoever encouraged the king in renewing the enterprise would commit a mortal sin, for the king's death would certainly ensue. Louis was so very frail that he could endure neither driving nor riding.

Three years having passed in preparation, Louis bade farewell (1270) to his realm and his queen. His followers were made the more discontented by his plan to first take Tunis, and thence proceed to Egypt. They suspected that he consulted the interests of his brother, Charles of Anjou, who ruled Naples and Sicily. Hardly had he landed in Tunis, when he was taken by the fever, which raged in his army, in the heat of the African summer. Three weeks he struggled on, never sparing himself, putting forth all the might of his restless spirit, until he at last sank. "Let us see to it that the gospel be preached and established in Tunis. Oh, who is able to accomplish this work!" This was the last wish he uttered. Then delirium set in, in which he was often heard to exclaim, "We go, we go to Jerusalem." In the poor husk of this longing after the earthly Jerusalem, may we not discover the higher longing of his heart after the heavenly Jerusalem?

At the dawn of the morning of the 25th of August, there sounded the clear clang of trumpets from the sea, through the heavy air of the mournful stillness of the king's camp. Charles of Anjou disembarked only to find his brother no longer living. "In the same hour of the day in which his Saviour died," the pious king, on his bed strewn with ashes, with hands crossed upon his heart and eyes lifted to heaven, took his departure, with the words, "O Lord, I will go into thine house, I will offer my prayer in thine holy temple, and will glorify thy name."

A short time before his death, he committed to his son a letter which he with trembling hand had composed in those last days. His last, most precious letter. [This son, Philip, who succeeded him, speedily returned to France with the remains of his father, and those of his wife, his uncle, his brother, and brother-in-law, to lay them all in the royal sepulchre of St. Denis.] This remarkable testament, which is given in various histories in fragments only, is here, as we have reason to think, given by us in its completeness. It is as follows:—

"MY DEAR SON, — The first thing to which I exhort thee is that thou love God with all thine heart, for without this no man can be saved; and beware of doing aught that can displease Him. Thou shouldst prefer to endure every pain rather than to sin unto death. If God send thee trouble, accept it cheerfully, and thank Him for it. Reflect that thou deservest it, and it will all redound to thy good. If He send thee good fortune, humbly acknowledge it, and be not led by it into pride or arrogance or other fault, for we ought not to provoke God with his own

gifts. Take good heed to hold intercourse only with the wise and brave, who are not ruled by their appetites. Choose for thyself wise confessors to counsel thee aright in thy conduct. Act so that thy confessors and friends will not fear to tell thee thy faults. Attend devoutly upon public worship. Avoid idle diversions. Pray to God with both heart and mouth. Hear the Word of God and ponder it. Be compassionate to the poor, have a heart for their need, and be ready to help them according to thy means. Thou, like others, wilt have trouble. Turn to thy confessor or tried friend, who will sympathize and share it. Take care to have about thee only true and tried men, whether clergy or laity. Keep evil men away from thee. To Christian discourse give ear both in public and in private. Commend thyself to good people's prayers. Love good; hate evil. Suffer that no one dare to speak objectionable words in thy presence. Injure no one's honor either in public or in private. Allow none to speak profanely of God and his saints in thy presence. Forget not to thank God for all the benefits which thou receivest of Him, that thou mayst receive more. Be not easily satisfied in the administration of justice. Look not to the right or left, but decide according to truth and conscience. Uphold the complaints of the poor against the rich, till the truth is discovered. Do the same in suits against thyself, since that will strengthen thy counselors in doing justice. If thou findest other people's property in thy possession, taken by thee or thine agents or thy predecessors, and this be made clear to thee, be not slow in returning it; if the matter is doubtful, let it be considered carefully by wise and honest persons. Take all pains that the people enjoy peace under thee. Be honest with thy servants, liberal, and a man of thy word, that they may fear and love thee as their lord. Maintain the rights and freedom of the cities which thine ancestors have bequeathed thee. Forfeit not their good-will, so that thy foes and thy barons may fear thee. Bestow benefices conscientiously and upon capable men. Beware of beginning a war, especially against Christians, except thou art compelled. Seek by all possible means to settle dissensions and quarrels between thy subjects. Choose good judges and officers, and instruct thyself concerning their conduct. Seek to extirpate crimes, especially cursing. Manage thy household with frugality and order. Finally, I beseech thee, my son, that thou think upon my end, and have masses read, prayers made, and alms distributed on my behalf throughout the kingdom. And lastly, I give thee all the blessings that a good father can give to his son. God grant thee grace that thou mayst do his will every day, and honor Him in this life in every wise, and that we may be with Him, after this life, and fear, love, and praise Him, without end, in his heavenly kingdom. Amen."

What a witness, what a memorial to the God-fearing king! These words are no less distinguished by their unadorned simplicity, than by

the spirit which pervades them. A holy ardor, hearty love, clear judgment, and rich experience in heart and life find in them equal expression. Bossuet rightly puts into the mouth of the grandfather of his pupil, the Dauphin, afterwards Louis Fifteenth, the saying, "This is the richest inheritance of our house, which we must esteem as a greater treasure than the realm which he bequeathed to his successors."—A. R.

LIFE IV. HILDEGARD OF BINGEN.

A. D. 1098—A. D. 1179. LAICAL LEADER, — GERMANY.

THE name Hildegard meets us in Germany's loveliest spot, where the Nähe weds the Rhine. The sweet abbess herself (of Rupertsberg, near Bingen) comes to us, too, through the intervening centuries. She was born (1098) in Bockelheim, in the charming Nähe valley. Her father was Hildebert, a noble retainer of the Count von Sponheim. Along with the count's daughter, Hildrabis, she studied in Dissebodenberg cloister, near by, having been dedicated by her family to God's service. Her delicate health, as well as her talents and enthusiastic aspirations towards the things of heaven, decided her course of life. Even when three years old, she was led by marvelous visions, which were with her at almost all hours, to think of heaven more than of earth. In the cloister she was so entirely loved and admired that after the death of the abbess Jutta, sister of Count von Sponheim, she was chosen abbess in her place (1136).

Scotch-Irish mission effort, as is known, had established all along the Rhine, from Dissentis, Chur, and St. Gall, to Strassburg, Mainz, Trier, Cologne, and Kaiserwerth, a succession of flourishing colonies and societies (*cœnobia*) on the primitive pattern. Till the days of Boniface and the Carlovingians, these remained independent of Rome. The Bible was their supreme rule; Christ's grace their reliance for salvation. Their noble distinction was the maintenance of holy discipline and earnest brotherly love. A last echo of this precious pre-papal period comes to us in the life of Hildegard, abbess of Dissebodenberg. She had the care of the daughters of noble families far and near, to impart to them her own German sweetness of demeanor and piety, thus fitting them for quiet homes, for adorning life's peaceful hours, and for fighting its battles. The throng was so great that she was led, if not to found a new convent, at least to unite another with her own (that of Eubingen, near Rudesheim), thus to supply the growing demand. To furnish loving incitements and badges of distinction, Hildegard was wont to give garlands and rings to her best and dearest pupils. But all her doings as teacher would have given her renown only

Her work in her school.

for quiet labor in the walls of a cloister. There was in her life a very different attraction, which drew the eyes of almost all Christendom upon her, and brought near her side emperors like Conrad and Frederick, popes to the number of four, with countless bishops, abbots, princes, and counts, as well as the most noted scholars, especially Bernard of Clairvaux. This was her mysterious relation (as it was accepted by them) to the world unseen. For she was pronounced by all a prophetess of the New Testament, and revered as a messenger of God to the nations.

To our age, as far removed from wonder-loving superstition as from utter skepticism, it is allowed to look impartially at the utterances of this wondrous maiden, which seemed to her greatest contemporaries to be divine revelations. She has herself left us remarkably clear descriptions of her exalted experiences. With a constitution of the utmost delicacy, Hildegard was from infancy almost always sick, and especially in her nervous system. Before she was three years old, she beheld one day such an ocean of light about her, that her soul was overcome. After her entrance into the convent, at seven, she had such visions repeatedly. Finally, she ventured to speak of them. She was amazed that what she perceived so plainly was not seen or heard by others. She was frightened at herself, and thereafter was silent on what she learned of the world unseen, not by her senses, though they were awake, but through her spirit. This silence, maintained till she was fifty years old, came near destroying her life. There was a voice within ever calling to her, as she thought, from the Lord himself. She must proclaim what God disclosed to her. But in part her fear of being thought deranged or imbecile, in part the peculiar character of her visions, full of threatenings of divine vengeance upon personages whom she was used to view only with reverence, kept her lips shut. Finally, the struggle brought her to a sick-bed and the verge of the grave. She lay thirty days in a mortal struggle. "A consuming fire raged in my veins," she writes of herself; "whether my soul was in my body, or out of my body, I knew not. I lay motionless, in a spasm. My superiors, my children (pupils or nuns) and kindred, stood about my bed, weeping. They thought me dead. But in those days I beheld the heavenly hosts, and heard from their ranks a joyous cry, 'Thy time is not yet come; maiden, arise!'" Her eyes opened, and she was restored to her people. She now was enabled to overcome her hesitation. She confided her hidden thoughts to her confessor. He, in amazement and She begins to prophesy. doubt, wrote down her communications as she dictated them (her knowledge of Latin was but limited), and carried them to his abbot, who took them to the archbishop of Mainz. There was a church council soon after, not far off (in Trier, 1148), and so the whole affair came before that body and the pope for consideration. Bernard, the bright light of the century, journeyed with several bishops over to Rupertsberg. They

read the book of her revelations, entitled "Scivius." They weighed her mind and conduct; and then, followed by the pope and the council, they proclaimed to the world that hers were literal revelations from God, through the gift of prophecy, by which the old prophets had spoken. The pope wrote her a congratulatory letter. The Paris University, before which her writings were afterwards laid, declared unanimously that hers were not human words, but divine revelations.

We will now hear from Hildegard's own lips the manner in which the revelations came to her. "In the year 1162 of the Incarnation of Christ," so she writes, "when I was sixty-two years and seven months old, it came to pass that I saw heaven open, and bright waves of light descending and filling my brain, my heart, and my bosom with their flame, not burning but warming, like mild rays of the sun. Suddenly I was given an understanding of the Psalms, the Gospels, and the Scriptures, old and new. Yet I had no perception of words or syllables or grammatic forms." She further writes to Bernard, "I have a deep heart knowledge of the Psalms, the Gospels, and other Scriptures. They were unfolded to me in a vision that penetrated my breast and heart like a bright light, unfolding to me all the depths of knowledge, and not in the German tongue, which I am not able to read." She describes the heavenly light as follows: "So long as I am in this light, all sadness and pain leave me. I am a young girl once more, instead of an aged woman. I view the light with my senses all awake, nor is it fixed in any place. It shines as from clouds illumined by the sun behind them. Yet I can ascribe to it neither length, nor height, nor breadth. I name it The Shadow of the Living Light. As sun, moon, and stars mirror themselves in water, so do words and sentences, human excellences and achievements, gleam out of this cloud upon me. What I see or learn, in such a vision, I do not forget easily. The seeing, hearing, knowing, acquiring, is the work of an instant, and when I speak or write, I use the words that come to me in the light, yet I hear not words as from human mouths; I hear flames like tongues floating like cloudlets in the ether. This light is never removed from my soul an hour."

Let us now read a fragment from her visions. She writes to the religious community of Kirchheim: "In the year 1170, I was
Her vision of the church. sick upon my bed, but with my eyes awake, and I beheld the form of a woman of most lovely features, sweet, inviting, and joyous above conception. Her height was that of heaven. Her countenance was clearest light. Her eyes glanced upward. Her raiment was white silk, a mantle of emerald over it, adorned with sapphires and finest pearls and precious stones. Her sandals shone like onyx gems. Suddenly I saw that her face was soiled by dust, her robe torn on its right side, her mantle discolored, and her sandals black. She raised a pitiful cry, saying, Hear, O Heaven, my face is marred! Lament, O Earth, my rai-

ment is torn! Tremble, O Abyss, my sandals are made black. The foxes have holes; the birds of the air have nests; but I have no helper, no comforter; no stay to support and uphold me! She further said, I was hid in my Father's heart till the Son of Man, conceived and born of the Virgin, by the shedding of his blood, betrothed me to Himself, making my dowry most precious, that I might bring forth into a new life, by the water and the Spirit, those whom the serpent's poison had made prone to evil and averse from good. My attendants, the priests, who should make my countenance as the dawn, my robe brilliant as the lightning, my mantle glistening as diamonds, and my sandals bright as snow, have defiled my face with dirt, torn my raiment, soiled my mantle, and blackened my sandals. They profane the body and blood of my bridegroom through every kind of lust and uncleanness, by whoredom and adultery, by avarice and theft, by bargain and sale! . . . Must not the depth tremble, the earth grow dark, its green places be parched and its beauty blackened, since vengeance and wrath descend from God's right hand, to shake the heaven and the earth? Therefore there shall come upon you, ye priests who have not listened to me hitherto, the princes and strong men to take away your riches, saying, Come, let us cast forth these adulterers and robbers out of the church! . . . And I heard a voice from heaven, saying, This vision is the church. . . . And lo, I saw the suffering woman suspend a sword in the air, one edge towards heaven, the other towards the earth. The sword is drawn against the priests, and I beheld the sword cut off the corners of the priesthood, even as Jerusalem was cut off when it had crucified Jesus. . . . Fire unquenchable from the Holy Ghost shall fall on you, to turn you into a better way!"

This one specimen may suffice. Certainly we may be edified by the devout spirit which it breathes, but who will mistake it for divine revelation? We are, perhaps, meeting what occurs in our day in cases of somnambulism, or in the very remarkable affection found among the Swedes, known as the "preacher-disease." But what is there to show a divine message? What does Hildegard say that is new? What doctrine, not already in the Bible, or in the church creed? And her language is only a weak copy of the visions of Scripture. Yet we can quite understand how an age marked by a universal liking for the marvelous and fanciful should bow before Hildegard as a prophetess.

Were there nothing more to be said of Hildegard, she would be notable in the history of the mind, but could hardly claim high position in the history of the church. We have now to show that she deserves this place also. A characteristic of that day, when people were turning with excited emotions to the Holy Land to assure themselves thereby of their peace with God, was a deep longing to discover exalted and holy personages, and by reverent dependence upon them to obtain an assurance of divine favor to their sadly felt

Her true title to
renown.

shortcomings. Christ's saving power and sufficient merit were hid by the church's teachings. Hence came the ardent homage and enthusiastic honors paid by many to the gifted Hildegard. Men clave to one glorified with the crown of prophecy, in order to attain heaven by her assistance. A historian has well said, that a strong proof of Hildegard's greatness of soul, judgment, and lasting power to supply the deepest needs of human souls is her receiving the reverence and love of her most distinguished contemporaries to the very last. Her correspondence amazes us by its extent, and still more by the writer's deep-reaching and varied efforts. She was the comforter of all the afflicted, the counselor of the oppressed, the peacemaker between brawlers, the chastiser of the sins of individuals as well as of classes and of nations. Now she exhorts a bishop to gentleness to his clergy, now monks to humbleness and obedience, and all to unity and the love of Christ. She tells young women, visited by temptations in spite of their severe penances, to serve God by the faithful performance of duty and useful work, rather than in excessive fastings, which must lead to new temptations. Oppressed and persecuted people by the thousands, coming from France and Germany, addressed themselves to Hildegard in person. For all she had the right word, the strong consolation; no one went from her presence unassisted. How severely she rebuked the sins of the clergy we have seen already; with what delicacy of feeling she observed the limits of reverence and true piety, may be seen in her letters to persons in high position.

To the emperor Barbarossa she writes as follows: "The Judge on High speaks to thee these words. Hear! How wondrous, Rebukes King and pope. that a single man, such as thou, O king, should be so greatly needed by mankind! There stood a king on a lofty mountain. He gazed into the valleys and saw the afflictions of men. In his right hand he held a staff, and directed all things aright. There grew green what had been utterly waste. There awoke what had lain in slumber. A single time he closed his eyes, and lo, a black cloud came settling over the valley. Ravens came flying and devouring the prey that lay around. O king, be wakeful. Look carefully about thee. Lo, thy lands are shadowed by a cloud of impostors. Robbers and fanatics destroy the way of the Lord. Thou hast a noble name. Thou art king in Israel. Consider that the eye of the King of kings rests on thee, lest thou turn even once to folly. Flee the path of lust. Be a champion of Christ. Renounce avarice and choose moderation. Be foresighted in all thine affairs. I saw thee in a vision surrounded by the gloom of night. Thou hast but a little while to rule here below. The Lord will demand a reckoning. Live so that his grace shall not depart from thee."

She counsels the pope, Eugenius Third: "The eye that observes all, penetrates all, makes all that slumber speak to thee. The valleys cry out at the mountains; the mountains fall upon the valleys. What means

it? The people have lost the fear of God; a spirit of disquiet excites them to rise to the mountain-tops to accuse their masters. They see not their own shortcomings. Every one says, Were I in power, things would go better. They have grown into black clouds that would fly over our heads. But they gird not themselves for work; their fields are left untilled. The stars, darkened by many a cloud, cry out. The moon troubles us. The sun plagues us. The stars shine not, because the tempest blows up dust clouds to the heaven. Therefore, thou mighty pastor, ruling the church of Christ, send light to the mountains, and peace to the valleys. Teach the teachers of the people. Restore discipline and order. Let holy oil flow from above, and fragrance rise from beneath. Teach all to walk rightly, that they may endure before the Sun of Righteousness. . . . This poor form trembles to speak thus to a great teacher. But, good father, not I, but the great Captain, the Almighty Warrior, speaks this to thee. Root out ungodly oppression. Listen to all complaints. . . . Lo, a mighty king sat in his palace. The great pillars around were wreathed with gold and adorned with precious stones. Yet it pleased that king to touch a weak feather. The feather flew marvelously; a strong wind sustained it, and it did not fall to the earth!"

In spite of her weakness of frame, Hildegard took many journeys, preached often before all classes, contributing greatly to the general rising up for the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre. Her addresses as well as her visions proved transporting. Princes, knights, and people revered her as a saint. Her own confession respecting this time of her extraordinary triumph is quite touching: "I, a timorous, poor woman, have endured much throughout two years, for I had to appear before the mighty and the most learned in all the noted places." We need not be surprised that many cures were ascribed to her prayers and laying on of hands.

Hildegard reached the age of eighty-four years, dying the 17th of September, 1179. She was never enrolled as a saint by the church. None the less we turn to her as a rare apparition of centuries gone by, and gaze upon her with love and amazement.—F. II.

LIFE V. THOMAS AQUINAS.

A. D. 1225—A. D. 1274. CLERICAL LEADER, —ITALY.

THE great teacher of the thirteenth century, Thomas Aquinas, the child of a noble Neapolitan family, was born in 1225, at his father's castle of Rocca Sicca, on the borders between the territories of Naples and Rome. His devout mother, Theodora, early implanted in his mind the germs of piety that were to bring forth such a glad harvest. From the time he was five years old, he was trained in the renowned Benedictine

Abbey of Monte Casino. Afterwards he went to the University of Naples. It was the age when the two orders of begging friars, the Franciscans and Dominicans, were beginning to exert a great popular influence. We should not judge these organizations by the corruptions adhering to them afterwards. At first they did much good. They were the champions of mission work. They supplied the place of the ignorant or worldly clergy in their preaching and care of souls. Hence, Thomas espoused the cause of these orders against their adversaries. In heat and in cold, in rain and in snow, roaming far and near over the land, they sought in the poorest hovels the neglected and those destitute of instruction and comfort. They shared the mean fare of the poor, often putting up with a piece of mouldy bread. They could not be deterred, even when they were repelled as strangers with contempt and abuse. Youth is easily carried away by any great excitement that possesses an age. The ardent minds of the young were greatly impressed by the glowing zeal which marked the labors of the noted preachers of these societies. Thomas, as a young man, was transported by their preaching, and with enthusiastic devotion connected himself with the Dominican order. His devout mother was at first quite satisfied. She wanted, however, to see her dear son once more. But the monks with whom Thomas was staying purposed even to suppress the sacred emotions of nature, and kept the youth from his mother. They feared lest she might deprive the order of so promising an accession. The excited mother found means, by the help of her other sons, who were serving in Italy, in the army of the emperor Frederick Second, to take Thomas from the monks by violence. But now the characteristic firmness of his spirit showed itself. He could not be moved to give up the dress of the order, and was detained from rejoining it only by force. He was guarded for two years as a prisoner in a castle. This solitude he used for the study of the Scriptures, with devout prayer and rapt meditations upon God. When the mother at last became aware that such a will could not be changed, she herself gave him facilities for escaping by letting himself down by a rope from his window. Some of his order were at hand, who received him with great rejoicing. He is next found in Cologne, in the university, where Albert the Great, one of the profoundest thinkers of the age, was teaching. Thomas became his pupil. His greatness lay concealed beneath his unassuming manner and quiet thoughtfulness. He got from the pupils the surname of the Dumb Ox, because he was so silent. But when once, in a disputation, his great powers of mind shone out to the amazement of all, Albert the Great said prophetically, "This Dumb Ox will make the whole world resound with the words of his wisdom." Afterwards Thomas attended the oldest of the universities, that of Paris, in order to take his degree. He became a doctor of theology there in 1253.

Studies in Cologne.

In the twenty years that remained to him, he wrote works, many and varied, all full of profound thought and earnest piety. By them he became the teacher of his own and succeeding centuries, publishing truths that were to be fruitful for all ages. His activity as an author is the more surprising, since it was not his only work. He had work to do as a university teacher. He preached zealously. He toiled by turns in the schools of Paris and Naples, and had to consume much time in travel. He was frequently resorted to for counsel upon varied questions. King Louis Ninth of France, that model of a Christian king, often went to him, attracted by his clear judgment, to obtain his advice on matters of government. His oral teaching had such great popularity that hardly a hall could be found in Paris that would hold the crowds of listeners. A proof of his many-sided, powerful intellect and presence of mind is given in his employing at the same time two, three, and four amanuenses, to whom he dictated on various subjects. A man of thought, meditation, and prayer, he was penetrated by the conviction that through prayer is to be got that light that will illumine the spirit in searching into the deep things of God. He prepared himself for everything he undertook, for disputation, lecture, or composition, by prayer. That he might not in his following some line of thought be drawn away from right feeling and devotion, he would often read works especially intended to edify. When in difficult researches he could find no opening, he would upon his knees ask God for illumination, and continue his investigations after he had received a quickening glow in his spirit. His writings give evidence of this. They are marked by a pervading fervor and depth of spirit, profoundness and clearness of thought, and absence of intellectual pride. In all his efforts to fathom divine things by thought and to bring reason and faith into accord, he yet recognizes limits to such investigations, and reverences the domain of faith. The profound thinker also constrained himself to descend to the needs of the uneducated. In Italy, he preached in the popular tongue, and so plainly that he could be understood by every one. He would hardly have been taken for the great doctor of the schools. Crowds thronged eagerly to his sermons. He was not drawn away by worldly glory and honor. Upon one of the many occasions when he sat at the table of the king, by invitation, he forgot everything going on about him, sunk in reflection upon some difficult question of theology, with which he had been much engrossed; suddenly he cried out, striking the table with his fist, "I have got it." His prior, sitting next him, tapped him on the shoulder and said, "Recollect you are at the table of the king." But Louis knew how to appreciate his guest. He ordered an amanuensis to come at once, to whom Thomas was to dictate the results of the thoughts that had so pleased him. Once when returning from an excursion on foot with some of his pupils, in Paris, they pointed out to him the beautiful

Habits of
prayer.

city, and said, "Wouldst thou not like to be master of such a city?" he replied, "No! I would rather own Chrysostom's sermons." Summoned to Lyons to take part in a council for the improvement of the church's condition, he was seized with a fatal illness and died on the way (1274).

Among the many writings of this great teacher, we may especially name his books of essays on Christian faith and morals, and his defense of Christianity against the attacks of unbelief. As his own mental life, quickened by the gospel, was a unit with faith and reason harmonized, so his endeavor was to exhibit this harmony in his writings. He thus exerted a happy influence, not only in behalf of reason and science, but of living faith and true piety. For those days were threatened seriously by a fanaticism of reason that denied everything, and an enthusiasm of mere emotion. By these childlike faith was endangered, and a dangerous schism between reason and religion foreboded. If nowadays we are pained by the spread of an infidelity that denies everything divine, and deifies human reason, we are not to imagine that this is the first time such tendencies have arisen. The natural man, in his ignorance of that which can only be spiritually discerned, conceals them ever within him; often do they declare themselves in his history. In the age of Aquinas the time had not come for their general prevalence. They were met by the Christian spirit which pervaded the life of the period, and by great intellects like his of whom we speak. They were suppressed at the start by this alliance of piety and reason.

The skeptical movement named proceeded from the Arab Mohammedan philosophy of Spain. It seemed about to spread through the Christian world. It declared falsely a schism between theology and science, an irreconcilable opposition between revelation and reason. It used this assertion as a mask under which to spread its dogmas. It maintained such infidel doctrines as the denial of God as a person, above the universe, and of an eternal life for believers. It asserted that in mankind was one and the same soul, and hence separate souls, as transient manifestations of this one spirit, were destined to oblivion. It presented these teachings as plain to reason. Yet it professed submission to the authority of the church respecting doctrines, even though they contradicted science. Its notions, though not half understood, were already finding acceptance. A knight, who was admonished to repentance for his vices, rejected the admonition, saying, "If the Apostle Peter was saved, then I am, for in me and Peter is the same soul."

Thomas Aquinas by his writings strove to meet the requirements of both science and religion. He mightily opposed the spread of this masked infidelity. Animated by a living faith in revelation, he combated the pretense of a contradiction between reason and faith; opposite lights could not proceed from the maker of nature and revelation. Otherwise there would be contradiction in God; there

His greatest books.

Shows faith and reason one.

would be assurance of nothing. There are no conflicts between truths. It is not indeed for reason to demonstrate revealed truths which are above reason. Yet she can show that what opposes the revealed has no foundation, and exercise her office in overthrowing it. As grace does not annihilate nature, but completes it, natural reason must be made subservient to faith, just as natural inclinations must subserve Christian love. Divine faith does not oppose the nature of the soul, but is adapted to it. In support of this Aquinas quotes Paul's words (Rom. x. 8). We can attain, he said, complete religious truth only when we attain the vision of God. Yet even here below reason will find in the analogies of mind and nature much to assist in the setting forth of truth. This will not be sufficient to afford full comprehension. None the less, the human mind will be advantaged by its weak effort, if it but avoid arrogance. For it is most joyful to know even the commonest of the things of heaven. — A. N.

LIFE VI. JOHN OF MONTE CORVINO.

A. D. 1250 ?—A. D. 1332. CLERICAL LEADER, — CHINA.

THE name of the apostle of the Mongols is little known on earth, but is surely recorded in heaven. A devoted adherent of the papal church of his day, he was yet an evangelic Christian preacher. He was born in the little village of Monte Corvino, in Apulia, south Italy, soon after 1250. He early devoted himself to the church's service in the new order of the Franciscans. Of his early career in the quiet cloisters of southern Italy, nothing is known.

At that date, the Mongols, pouring from the table-lands of distant Central Asia, had come into acquaintance and intercourse with Western Christendom. The Nestorians of the East had long before labored successfully among them. When the Mongol empire threatened to extend to Germany, an embassy was sent to the great khan Katbuke (1244), to dissuade him from the persecutions of Christians within his realm. Various mission efforts were put forth, some seemingly successful, others openly disastrous. Finally, five Franciscans were commissioned by pope Nicholas Third to the chief of the western Mongols, the khan Abaka, in Persia. Soon after, a bishop was sent out to join them. The Christians hoped for large success through the zeal of Abaka's successor, the khan Tangador, since he accepted baptism. But he turned Moslem directly, and became a fierce persecutor of Christianity. The church grew spiritually even in her distresses. When a son of Abaka, khan Argon, ascended the throne (1284), there were numerous congregations, which built up again the ruined churches. Argon entertained the thought of rescuing the Holy Sepulchre from the Moslems, and then receiving baptism in Jerusalem. He addressed the pope in reference to this object.

John was then in the midst of his labors among the Mongols. He had gone out to them with others, and, it seems, possessed more than the rest the gift of winning the rough Mongol spirits to Christianity. Argon's wives became Christians, if not already such. His eldest son, also, was baptized, taking the name of Nicholas. John came back to Italy, having been summoned to report in person the great work of God among the Mongols (1288).

The great Mongolian empire in the East was upon the mind of the pope of that period. Ruling over China, it had become better known to the West, through the Venetian traveler, Marco Polo. It had come in contact with the Nestorian Christians in China, by whose agency many Mongolians were converted. The great khan, Kublai, at Kambalu (Peking), had expressed a wish to obtain Christian preachers. Some Dominican monks had started on the long journey, but without arriving at their destination.

John was now commissioned to go to the eastern Mongolians by way of the west Mongols and the East Indies. He set out, leaving his residence in the Persian capital of Tauris, in the year 1291. He visited the Thomas-Christians in India, and baptized more than a hundred pagans during his journey. At last he reached China, and the emperor's residence at Kambalu. In two letters, written home from there to the brethren of his order, he portrayed his experiences and trials. He dwelt eleven years, utterly alone, surrounded by pagans, by the rough Mongols and their friendly ruler, and by unfriendly Nestorians. He was accused by the latter as a spy and impostor, not the real envoy from the pope, but an assassin, who had murdered the former, and appropriated the presents which he was bringing for the khan. He endured such persecutions five years, sometimes in prison, often apparently near his death by the hands of the executioner. At last the plot against him was confessed, and his slanderers sent into banishment. Amid these vexations, he mastered the language of the people, translating into it the Psalms and the New Testament. He also gathered a school of boys, whom he instructed in Latin and Greek, in the Bible, and in the church hymns. He baptized about six thousand pagans, and builded for his people two churches and a school, close by the imperial palace. Even from the hostile Nestorians he won a prince, named George, with many of his people, but not permanently, on account of the prince's early death. He lost in him a strong friend of missions. John thought that if the Nestorians had not persecuted him, he would have baptized thirty thousand persons. A hundred and fifty boys, who had been baptized by him, lent him aid, by singing and other help in public worship. He held services even for little children. He awaked pagan curiosity, also, by the bells, which he hung on the church towers, and caused to strike every hour. At last he was rein-

forced by a brother from Germany, Arnold of Cologne. "Could reinforcements have been sent more promptly and vigorously, the great khan himself would have received baptism." He died a pagan.

John begged importunately for the sending of able assistants by the shortest road, and for needed books, that he might "bear testimony publicly and loudly to the law of Christ." Thus he writes in 1305, when the khan Timur was reigning, and Clement Fifth was pope. At once seven Franciscans were sent out; of these, one returned, three died in India, and three reached China, to find the noble pastor growing gray with years. They brought him an appointment as archbishop of Kambalu, and as patriarch of Eastern Asia. They found him highly esteemed in the imperial court, with daily access to the great khan. The newly arrived brethren relieved him of the burden of the churches in Kambalu. He had hitherto had only his boys to help him, and had been obliged to do all the clerical work himself. He now gave the position of bishop to each of the brethren. Others followed them (1312), and John was permitted to live to see not only other bishops coming to him from the West, but also the multiplication of books that should help the work of evangelization. He died in 1332, old and full of days, surrounded by flourishing congregations. He Dies in Peking. was taken away in time to be spared the sight of the beginning (twenty years later) of the ruin of the Mongol rule in China, and the destruction, along with it, of the institutions of Christianity. — W. H.

LIFE VII. WALDO OF FRANCE.

A. D. 1130 ?—A. D. 1197. LAICAL LEADER, — FRANCE.

A COMPANY of worthy burghers of Lyons were sitting together upon a summer's day (about 1170), spending the hours in innocent conversation, with a happy feeling of repose and safety. Suddenly one of their number fell to the earth, dead. As gloom gathered over the company, a wealthy and respected merchant rose up from among them, and spoke of the emptiness and transitoriness of earthly existence, and pressed home the need of conversion and of a life consecrated to God. This was Peter Waldo or Waldenser, so named from his native land of Vaud. Profoundly affected, he purposed henceforth, though by no means a negligent Christian before this, to make it his business to find what the will of God was, to follow it perfectly, and arouse others who were sleeping. Since the church around him, as he saw, lulled men into a false repose by her penances and pardons, he determined to seek the pure Word of God, at the fountain head. He employed a Publishes the Bible. learned priest to dictate to him, in the Provençal tongue, several books

of the Bible. An expert young copyist was engaged to transcribe them. Nor did he contemn the church's evangelic teachers. He collected several chapters of their most precious utterances respecting Christian life and doctrine. These, and the passages of the Bible, he so imprinted on his mind by frequent perusal that he knew almost every word of them by heart. Earnestly he resolved to attain perfection by living as did the Apostles. In this he was hardly correct, for Christian perfection is reached less by keeping the law in its letter, than by the renewal of the heart through faith. Waldo took the way traveled, since the days of Antony, by nearly all good men whose hearts were on heaven. Yet as he had genuine faith and knowledge of human need and divine grace, he was less hurt by his aiming at outward perfection. His favorite saying was our Lord's word to the rich youth: "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come, follow me." Waldo sold his goods, and threw his money into the street, to be picked up by the poor. He went preaching the gospel, as the Apostles had done, in houses and in the market-place, and set many men and women to inquiring. These inquirers he gathered into his house and instructed in the gospel. When he found them well versed in the Bible, he sent them out, like the seventy, two and two, in all the country, indoors and outdoors, and in the churches, to preach the Word of God. He insisted that they should go, like the disciples, poor and mean in garb, wearing no shoes, but sandals only. The people called them sandal-men and "poor men of Lyons," as well as Waldensians.

The preaching of laymen, without their bishop's leave, was forbidden by church rules, and not without propriety. But these men, holding the church's teaching and rule to be defective, erroneous, and dangerous, could neither ask nor expect their bishop's indorsement. They opposed God's Word to corrupt doctrine, believing they were obliged thereto by a divine command. They said, like the Apostle, that they must obey God rather than man. They appealed from the excommunication and punishment pronounced against them by archbishop John of Lyons, to the pope, but were anathematized by pope Lucius Third, having first been ridiculed and condemned at a council held in Rome (1179). Peter Waldo sees the papal apostasy. Waldo and his movement became notable by his developing the schism between good Christians who held by the Bible, and the pope, who perverted it. Maintaining the truth against Jews or pagans was an easy thing compared with undertaking its championship against a power that claimed the sole right of defining church laws and doctrines and of interpreting the Bible. Conscience counseled respect to the church, but it more loudly commanded submission to Christ, the church's head, and his precepts. In the conflict of allegiance with allegiance, the Waldensians hesitated not an instant in preferring Christ the Master to the pope, who claimed to be Christ's servant. They ran a risk of misin-

terpreting Scripture, for they insisted upon the letter. They held that they must preach like the Apostles, forgetting, however, to prove their right as Apostles. At first setting out they opposed all oaths, and all taking away of human life, hardly considering Christ's commands in their connection and true object. Still their teaching and preaching turned less on points like these than on their assertion that not the clergy, but the whole company of the believing, constitute the church. The Word of God must not be bound by a corrupt clergy. God's grace can be enjoyed only by repentance, faith, and new obedience. Confession, absolution, and prayers to saints were valueless, when they took the place of efforts after holiness, and when they depreciated the latter in the eyes of the people. This, the substance of their teaching, could not be endured by the priests. The main issue was avoided by the latter. Isolated expressions and assertions of the Waldensians were laid hold of, as pretexts for imprisoning them, or even burning them at the stake. Still the simple teaching and pure life of the latter impressed the people among whom they went, as artisans or laborers. They were never known to lie, to visit wine-shops, or to do anything unchaste. They were scattered by persecution through Spain and North Italy, Alsace and the Netherlands. Everywhere they waked a desire to know the Bible, to live honest and godly lives, and to reform the church's corruptions. Their knowledge of the Scripture and correct behavior were acknowledged, even by their enemies. Peter Waldo fled from land to land, preaching as he went. He at last found a residence, it is said, in Bohemia, dying there in 1197.

After Waldo's death, the Waldensians, it was hoped by pope Innocent Third, might be reconciled with the church, and made a monastic order. The pope was encouraged by Durandus of ^{His disciples are} ~~steadfast.~~ Osea, a recreant Waldensian. They were to be exempt from military service and the taking of oaths, when it was possible without injury or annoyance to others, and with the leave of the civil rulers. The most capable and clever of them might teach and preach with the consent of their superiors. The rest might work for the support of their teachers, and they should be hindered by nobody from continuing poor. They might also keep on wearing such garments as they had adopted. But they must promise to submit to Rome, and renounce fellowship with any Waldensians who would not submit, and with all other heretics. It was too late. Neither the bishops nor the Waldensians would consent to the terms; their differences were too great. The poor, persecuted people had already seen too much of Rome's corruption. So everywhere dispersed, and everywhere persecuted, they sowed Bible-teaching broadcast, spreading their doctrine of the priesthood of all believers; holding fast at the same time by the ministerial office.¹—H. E. S.

¹ The Waldensians are honored with justice as steadfast opposers of the corruptions of Rome and forerunners of the Reformation. With amazing constancy they have borne the

LIFE VIII. TAULER OF STRASSBURG.

A. D. 1290?—A. D. 1361. CLERICAL LEADER, — GERMANY.

JOHN TAULER, known to his own century as "The Illumined Teacher," was born in the year 1290, in Strassburg. His family was of senatorial dignity. Early dedicated to the clerical office, John joined the Dominican order when about eighteen years old, and, going to Paris, studied in the Preachers' Seminary of St. James, where Master Eckart had not long before uttered his profound speculations. Tauler was little attracted by the scholastic theology that lost itself in unfruitful subtleties and speculations. His mind was left unsatisfied by the great and accom-

cruel persecutions of centuries. Till recent times the remnant of them has endured oppression. How widely they extended among people of the lower classes in the Middle Ages appears from a fragment of an Inquisition-Register of the year 1391. The following are named therein as Waldensians: "Nicholas and his son John, from Poland, both peasants; Conrad, from the town of Düben, near Wissemburg (Wittenberg?), son of a peasant; Walich, of Guidex (?), a shoemaker; Conrad, of Gemund, in Swabia, son of a peasant; Simon, of Salig, from Hungary, a tailor; Hermann, of Mistelgen, from Bavaria, a smith; John, of Diruna, from Bavaria, a smith. All the above named are called among their people apostles, masters, angels, and brothers." The last words indicate an organization and an order of teachers, of which very little has come down to us. Permanent church government must have been prevented by the incessant persecutions; while a clerical caste must have been against their principles. Probably the apostles were the traveling teachers; the masters, the teachers in their chapels; and the angels, the presidents and overseers of their congregations. In the mountains and valleys of Savoy, where many took refuge (after 1300), their leaders were called *barbs* (*barbæ*, or bearded men), the common name for uncles and priests in those regions. This title, until 1630, was given the overseers of the Waldensians in the valleys of Piedmont, where alone they survived. When all their officers save two had been taken away by a plague, application was made to the reformers in Geneva and France to send new teachers. These were named masters, and preached, not in their own dialect, but in French. About 1650 an old Waldensian constitution was published by one of these preachers, John Leger, in his history of this people. Their strict discipline was much applauded by the Reformers.

The Waldensians are the only one of all the sects of the Middle Ages that has continued till to-day, and they, indeed, in a small remnant. This we may account as a kindness shown them of God, for submitting sincerely and simply to his Word, while others went after something beside and so wrought out their own destruction. The Waldensians early repaired to Piedmont, since there they could expect toleration. Many who were dissatisfied with the Roman hierarchy, and wanted to serve God truly, found undisturbed abodes in those quiet valleys. They continued little annoyed till 1640. After that they met such hatred and persecution as makes the reader's blood run cold: some were hurled along until dead; others ripped open, to have stones or powder placed in the cavities; neither age nor sex was respected. The remonstrances of the elector of Brandenburg and Cromwell availed little; emigration was difficult and dangerous; and the poor folk were too fond of their mountains and vales to want to live elsewhere. Yet there remains a remnant, some twenty thousand souls, in the valleys of Luserne, Pelice, Angrogne, St. Martin, and Perouse, not far from Pinerolo in Piedmont. Since 1655 they have been part of the French Reformed Church. Their preachers commonly study in Geneva. The Prussian king Frederick William Third founded two scholarships in the gymnasium, and two in the university, in Berlin, for Waldensian students of theology. In La Torre, their chief town, is a Latin school for youth. In 1836 a noble building was erected for it. An English colonel, Charles Beckwith, devoted his life and fortune largely to the Waldensians, and founded an institution for girls. Of late their valleys are often visited by travelers. They were unmolested under Napoleon. When the Sardinian rule was restored, they suffered from the state and the intrusions of the Roman church. By a measure of the Sardinian king, February 17, 1848, they at last were relieved of all the laws against them, and given perfect religious liberty and equal rights with other citizens. This remnant, an oak erect in faith, after the storms of almost six hundred years, will it again put forth fresh and vigorous branches?

plished Paris teachers, who, as he says in one of his sermons, "read with eagerness a great many books, but inquired little into the book of life."

A native of Strassburg, the home for years of mystic Christianity, he inclined from his youth to a profound and living theology. He returned home from Paris. In Strassburg he met several Mystic teachers, and was in some degree shaped by them in his way of thinking. Chief among them was Nicholas of Strassburg, a practical and popular teacher, and the more aspiring Master Eckart, who, with burning, enthusiastic language, was preaching pantheistic ideas in the convents. All hearts there were attuned to serious thought. To this many events conspired: the disturbed state of the empire, the discontent of the cities, and especially the disputes arising from the interdict issued by pope John Twenty-third against Louis the Bavarian and his adherents. Affairs in Strassburg were in such a state as deeply to move the people. The clergy were divided upon the interdict. The majority from the start held with the pope. Only a few stood by the people, and finally public worship was suspended in all the churches. In this hour of religious need, the more earnest spirits among clergy and laity drew closer together. They united for their own sake and for the neglected, helpless people, and labored where the preachers were silent and where the city government desired public worship. Thus arose the society of "Friends of God" for the maintenance of church and religion. In the confusion of the times they retired within themselves, seeking peace by ineffable communion with God. Their religion, although thus mystic, was not inactive. Love's bidding was more in their eyes than any pope's forbidding. They did not believe in a papal anathema plunging poor citizens into the disputes of princes. Hence their activity wherever they were wanted, or where public worship was appointed by the city government. Tauler became one of "The Friends of God." He preached in German, after their custom, for the comfort and encouragement of the people. He was almost the only brother who stayed in Strassburg during the interdict. Everywhere he was heard with gladness and affliction. His renown went beyond the city. He was known even in Italy as an eminent teacher, "through whom the name of Christ was extending everywhere." He kept up intercourse with many of the Mystics and "Friends of God" of that age. He was loved and honored as a father in various convents of the Rhine, Bavaria, and Switzerland. His influence and reputation increased. By his words of encouragement he supported priest Henry of Nordlingen, when the latter preached in Basel, after the removal of the interdict. He visited the preaching monks of Cologne, who shared his spirit, and is said to have gone even to Ruysbroeck in the Netherlands.

Rise of "The Friends of God."

He joins "The Friends of God."

Thus busied in deeds that brought him many a return of love and reverence, Tauler met a person who exerted upon him a most extraordinary influence. Though it was but a layman, the meeting with him was a crisis in the life of the renowned teacher. He was known as Nicholas of Basel, the mysterious and indefatigable chief of a Waldensian society. He and his associates also called themselves the "Friends of God." They had none of the pantheistic notions then rife among the "Brethren of the Free Spirit." They were, in many respects, like the mystic "Friends of God," within the church, of which Tauler was a member. Nicholas had heard of the deep piety of Tauler, and of his independent work of love in the days of the interdict. He wanted to find the preacher who pursued a life so like his own. He would win him, if possible, wholly to his side by that spiritual influence which this remarkable man seems to have exercised over others. Nicholas stayed in Strassburg for many weeks in close contact with Tauler, unbosoming himself to him, and urging him to forego the world and cleave only to the "highest source of truth," — to Christ. Long did Tauler resist ere he, a "learned priest," yielded utterly to an unlearned layman, and submitted to the spiritual discipline enjoined upon him. For Nicholas, to extinguish the remains of self-conceit, forbade his preaching. Tauler obeyed, and lived two years alone in his cell, bearing patiently the scorn of his fellows and the thoughtless sentence pronounced by the people "on the preacher who had lost his wits." Finally, his mysterious friend permitted him to preach again. Not till he suffered repeated humiliations in his first sermon, and the strangest experiences, did he attain an abiding cheerfulness, and win back the people's affections. Even before his meeting with this "great Friend of God from the highlands," Tauler had been a spiritual and devout preacher. But by this man, so enwrapped in mystery, and so cruelly burned in France afterwards as an heretic, he was placed more securely on the true foundation of Christian life, and filled with still deeper love for the slightly esteemed laity. He preached frequently in the cloister church, and in the assemblies of the "Beguin Societies," of which there were several in Strassburg. His

His style of preaching. preaching, an old chronicler says, was a rare treat. He uttered neither dry scholastic subtleties nor useless fabulous legends of the saints. He spoke in a simple, heartfelt manner of the nothingness of all earthly things, of the need of union with God, the only real good, by self-renunciation and self-denial, by poverty of spirit and ardent love. At times his language was perhaps obscure, yet he still was effective. What he said of love to God and man, of salvation through Christ alone, and the uselessness of works without faith, could be comprehended by every mind, and reduced to practice. Sin was rebuked by him with Christian zeal, whether in priests or in people. He was forbidden to preach, it is said, by the clergy, who

were irritated by his rebukes, but the execution of the interdict was prevented by the magistrates. Tauler exerted an improving influence on some of the clergy, so that "many priests became quite devout." "He had to direct, by his wisdom, what the people were to do, whether in spiritual or in secular matters, and whatever he advised, the people did cheerfully and obediently," so says the ancient chronicle. The mystic "Friends of God" allied themselves to him closely, as was natural. Among them was the wealthy citizen Rulman Merswin, afterwards founder of the "Strassburg Order of St. John," and author of the "Book of the New Rock." Tauler was his confessor (1347). The Strassburg bishop himself heard Tauler gladly, and admired him. He soon, however, became his adversary. When Louis Fifth died, and Charles Fourth was chosen emperor, Strassburg would not recognize him. The interdict was on the city, and the bishop, who stood by the emperor, opposed the citizens and clergy who, like Tauler, kept up public worship. To these troubles in church and state was added the fearful distress of the black death (1348). The sick and the dying were denied the consolations of the church by the interdict. Tauler pitied the poor people. Two noble clergymen stood by him, the general of the Augustine order, then living in Strassburg, and the Carthusian prior, Ludolph, of Saxony, the author of a "Life of Jesus," celebrated in the Middle Ages. These three men addressed a letter to the clergy, showing how uncharitable it was, "to let the poor ignorant people die in excommunication." Since Christ, said they, died for all men, the pope could not close heaven to any who died innocent though excommunicated. He ^{Rejects papal} _{claims.} who confessed the true faith, and simply lacked respect to the pope's person, was no heretic. The circulation of the letter was prohibited. Tauler and his friends were obliged to leave the city. None the less they had given infinite comfort. The people, it is told, died in peace, no longer fearing the interdict. When, a few months after, the emperor came to Strassburg, he had the three monks brought before him, but what action was taken against them is unknown.

From this time until shortly before his death, Tauler disappears from the history of his native city. He visited Cologne, where he labored several years as preacher, in the church of St. Gertrude's cloister. In 1361, we find him again in Strassburg, dying. Nicholas of Basel, whom he had sent for, came and for days held with him long, serious converse. On the 16th of June, the great preacher died, in the garden house of his sister, a nun of the convent of St. Nicholas in Uden. The city was full of sorrow at the news of his death. "The great Friend of God from the highlands," whom the people would have honored as the friend of their father Tauler, left Strassburg the hour of his death, and returned to Switzerland. The body of Tauler was buried in his convent. The stone which covered it was set up (1824) by the Protestants

in the former Preachers' Church, where, half a thousand years before, that noble Christian spirit exhorted our fathers to deny self, in order that they might attain the salvation of Christ. His spirit lives on, in his writings, in his sermons, filled with profound love of God, and his thoughtful, edifying book on "The Imitation of the Poor Life of Christ." If all that he taught does not accord with our belief, he was none the less, in hard and troublous times, a venerable and true witness of our Lord. — C. S.

LIFE IX. THOMAS À KEMPIS.

A. D. 1380—A. D. 1471. CLERICAL LEADER, — GERMAN LANDS.

"ABIDE in lowly simplicity and Christ will abide in thee!" So spake the good father Florentius (who with Gerhard Groot founded the "Brothers of the Common Life"), as he died, in the year 1400, fifty years old. The exhortation of the dying master was to many a pupil of his an abiding blessing. But by none, surely, was it observed with greater loyalty and constancy than by his faithful biographer, the Elisha of this Elijah, Thomas à Kempis, who in youth sat at his feet, in manhood honored his memory, and in hoary old age (seventy years after this) followed him into his rest. So truly did Thomas à Kempis abide in lowly simplicity that he took as great pains to hide from men's gaze, as others to win their admiration. "Strive to remain unknown" (*ama nesciri*) was his motto lifelong, and behold, few names in the living church of God are encompassed with greater splendor! It seems as if God would make this very man, through the centuries, a confirmation of the truth, "Whoso humbleth himself shall be exalted." His fame is universal. He belongs not to the Brothers of the Common Life, already named, albeit his name sparkles their brightest jewel, nor to the Roman Catholic Church, which rightly counts him one of her noblest members, but to all Christendom, to all Christian confessions. There are few lands whither the salvation of Christ has gone, in which his little book on the "Imitation of Christ" has not found a way, whatever the tongue, to the hearts of disciples. Though he was every way a true son to the erring church of his generation, yet his name belongs in the evangelical calendar. Hence we give here a review of his life. We dwell also on his chief work, and on the place he occupies among the forerunners and pioneers of the Reformation.

Is an evangelical leader.

Thomas Hamerken (or Little-hammer) was born in the year 1380, in the small but pleasantly situated town of Kempen, in the lofty mountainous country near Cologne, and at that time under the rule of the archbishop of that city. From this place (not from Kempen in Oberys

sel) he took his name. His parents were plain burghers of small fortune. Thomas, however, shared the high privilege of many a renowned leader of the church,—he was trained by a pious mother. “Very early in life,” says his first biographer, “through the admonition of his eminently pious mother, was he filled with love for religion.” At the same time, his father, a modest artisan, set him a worthy example of industry, endurance, and simple-heartedness. We may say, then, that “pray and work” (*ora et labora*), the life rule of their son to extreme old age, was impressed upon him early by both his parents. Their parental roof Thomas left when he was twelve years old.

No longing after fame, or desire of riches, took the child, at such a tender age, away after his brother John to Deventer (in Oberyssel). He had heard of the school there, kept by the Brothers of the Common Life, where poor scholars could have support and instruction. Gerhard Groot was not there to receive him, but Florentius proved his friend and supplied him instruction. Like the boy Luther, when a chorister in Eisenach, our Thomas found a good woman who received and supported him. Her love he returned with constant zeal, a sincere piety, and amiable modesty. He distinguished himself in all these above many of his fellow pupils. He joined with great conscientiousness in the religious services of the “brothers,” and was taken into their home. Here he made friends with a good earnest youth, Arnold von Schoonoven, who was his room-mate and bedfellow, and with whom he daily practiced in reading and copying the Bible. Thomas shows, in speaking of his friend, that he early followed the injunction, “In lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than himself.” Yet Arnold influenced him less than Florentius, for whom as his spiritual father he showed unbounded reverence. Upon his advice Thomas resolved, in his twentieth year, to follow the sure impulse of his heart, and enter a convent. With a commendatory letter from his teacher, he went to a regular cloister of the Augustine order, that of St. Agnes, standing upon a slight elevation, in a healthful, pleasant situation near the city of Zwoll. Small and obscure as this cloister was, Thomas was repelled neither by that nor by its poverty. He wanted to be hidden, and to have fellowship only with his God. In the year 1399 he was received upon the five years’ probation; in 1406 he took the cowl, and the next year the vows of the cloister. How sacred this last step seemed to him, appears in a chapter of “The Imitation,” written about this time:¹ “Behold, thou art become a priest,” so speaks the voice of the Lord to him (book iv., chap. 5),

¹ We here consider that work of which the great Haller did not hesitate to say, “The composer must have been a teacher of more than human virtue.” The transition from author to book is easy, for Thomas and the *Imitation* are fully one, so that the author’s life is the best commentary on his book, is even an “Imitation of Christ” reduced to practice. This is not the place to give a detailed account of the literary history of this golden little book, which is known superficially, or at least by name, to almost all Christians. Still less can we go into the learned dispute as to whether Thomas was its real author, and

"dedicated to the solemnization of the sacraments; see to it now that thou bringest the sacrifice to God at the appointed time, faithfully and devoutly, and that thou appear before Him blameless. Thou hast not lightened thy burden: thou art bound now with stronger bonds of restraint, and art obliged to greater holiness. A priest must be adorned with all virtues, that he may set others a good example. He must go not in the customary and common ways of men. He must company with the angels, and with the excellent of earth."

Cherishing such exalted ideas of his office, he must have performed his every-day duties in the convent with simple faithfulness and lively zeal. Every account we have warrants our praising *À Kempis* for a rare measure of that faithfulness in little things to which Christ promised a great reward. His fixed rule was never to be idle, but to be reading or writing, meditating or working for others. He delighted in volumes handsomely written, and counted the honoring of good and holy men by these, a devotional exercise. His first biographer says, "An entire Bible still exists, as also a large missal and some of Bernard's works, for which we are indebted to the beautiful calligraphy and unwearying industry of Thomas." He made frequent copies of his own "Imitation of Christ." Hence the long strife whether he was its author. For out of extreme modesty, or perhaps from a childlike naïve joy in the beauty of his writing, he names himself only as copyist [*Hic liber est scriptus manu et characteribus Thomae à Kempis*].

not Gerson, Bernard, or some other. There are over two thousand various Latin editions, and almost a thousand French translations, of which seven hundred may be found in the Paris library. It has also been translated into most of the known languages, living or dead. Two monastic orders have striven to enroll the author in their ranks. Even the Parliament of France disputed as to the authorship (1652). This honorable body of course decided against our Thomas, as it seems to us, somewhat hastily. For after all the learned researches, it hardly remains a matter of doubt that the *Imitation* proceeded from the head and heart of Thomas à Kempis, and that the precious fruit certainly grew on the soil of Holland. [See Ullmann's *Reformers*, also Malou (1848), Mooren (1855), and Hirsche (1873), on this question.] A more serious question is, Whence the reception this book has had for four centuries? We think we do not err when we ascribe its fame largely to the practical turn of the author, by which, avoiding theological differences and the quarrels of the schools, he finds the direct road to the heart and conscience of his reader. In its literary character the little book is not extraordinary. Its Latin might be purer in places; many sentences seem at first commonplace; the uniformity of thought is at times rather wearying. But through the whole breathes such a spirit of heart-piety and sweet, gentle glow of love, that no one can lay it down without love for its author. Or, rather, one forgets the author, to think only of the Lord, and of our relation to Him. There is something impersonal and objective in his representation of the imitation of Christ, by which the author's individuality, while ever shining through, is nowhere in the way. Thus it is easy, by his help, to enter the most holy place of Christian life. His sentences gleam forth with mild splendor, like pearls on an invisible thread. Useless ornaments of speech thrown aside, the eye is less turned from the great objects presented for our devotions. Besides, the work is not hinderingly Romish, but rather catholic and evangelical, unless (in the fourth book) on the communion and the priesthood. The author does not, like Rome, stand eminently with Peter, nor like the Protestant church with Paul, but rather with John; a position whose full realization is reserved for the church of the future. Something of John the Baptist's spirit is his too, as well as John the Apostle's. He made Christian learning and science important, but only as means, not as the highest goals. What can be more practical and useful than words like these? "What avails knowledge without the fear of God? Better a simple peasant, serving God, than a proud philosopher neglecting self and contemplating the course of the skies. Why dispute deeply on the Trinity, when thou lackest the humility that pleases the Trinity? The more man dies to self the more he

Meantime he did not shun the little duties of the household. For a long time he was "procurator," or deacon. He sought in How he acted as deacon. this office to fulfill the Martha duties, as they are called in his charming little book "On the Faithful Householder," with motherly fidelity, as little as it suited his private inclination. He took great joy, thinking that through his care Christ's poor were relieved, and through his labors others could rest. In regard to duties of this kind, he writes: "Martha serves, labors, and does good before God and man, that Mary may be the freer to wait upon divine things. Only be faithful in thy place, Martha; thus serve, produce, provide, prepare what is needed for this life, in kitchen, in brewery, in cellar, in sowing of the field, in mill, wherever the servants of Christ need thy service, wherever without it they were not free in God." He remembers that the Martha and Mary office go together, and should together prepare Christ a home. He especially used his office for self-examination. The management of temporal affairs seemed to him to promote this. He says, "I believe that no one knows how it is with him, till he deals with temporal affairs, and has business care." He was, meanwhile, upon his guard against the danger of being carried away. "All worldly cares," he says, "are dangerous; therefore, as often as time allows, we ought to turn to the things of heaven. He who strives to fill well the office of the holy Martha will at times be vouchsafed the blessedness of the devoutly happy Mary, and may tarry in the repose of the promises and words of his Lord."

begins living unto God. Give thyself ever to the lowliest, and the loftiest shall be thine. Without love of God and man no works avail. Even though praised of men, they are as empty vessels having no oil, as lamps that go out in the darkness." We would find no end of citations if we were to point out, even superficially, the rich treasures of wisdom and piety here laid up in the most modest way for all ages. As we consider the age when Thomas lived, and how few and slight, comparatively, his aids to culture of mind and soul, and yet how his monastic spirit rises above that of the prevailing orders, we begin to understand the lofty praises of the *Imitation* by men like Leibnitz, Fontanelle, and Gysbert Voetius. We can say with the last, "I dare assert that after the Bible, I have found nothing, save a few fragments, more simple, mighty, and divine."

Certainly there is a shaded side of this bright picture. The doctrine of justification through faith does not fill its true place. How could it be otherwise when it is more the Christ in us, than the Christ for us, to whom our dear writer is so irresistibly directing us? The contrast between sin and grace is not everywhere sharply prominent. We might wish, too, that one so zealous against gross and subtle unrighteousness had given less food to self-righteousness. Further, as in his own life he did not appropriate or exhibit human life in completeness, but one-sided, so his book is a better rule for the inner than the outer life. There often appears a cloister-like depreciation of every-day things, an endeavor to shun earth, instead of an effort to honor God in this world, without being of this world. In this our busied, practical, earthward century, such a type of piety as his, if prevalent, would seem gloomy and odd. Yet far sadder for such a century if the side of Christianity to which he directs us were wanting; if there were prohibited to weary souls such a refuge of solitude into which we may betake ourselves as a needed contrast to the whirl around us. In such retirement we can hardly have, after the Bible, a better guide or companion than this same A Kempis. Much as Christians of the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries are apart in their lives and their views, that high ideal conceived by him, perfect peace through entire surrender to God and communion with Christ, is the same for all times. Since so many in this age expect too much from earth, they may find a wholesome correction of subtle worldliness and sensuality by converse with one who, it may be, valued the world too little. Surely, as in John Wessel we behold among the Brethren of the Common Life the bloom of theological science, so in Thomas à Kempis, in the same age, we behold the bloom of the purest ascetic mysticism.

Following such maxims in the least and greatest duties and cares of every-day life, Thomas can no more be counted in the crowd of beggar monks than among the friends of a weak mysticism. He must rather be numbered with the ascetic than with the mystic writers of his century. To a spirit like his, neither the lonely cell nor the routine of business could be altogether satisfying. Many a time he hastened, relieved of professional duties, to employ the precious hours with greatest joy at his beloved writing-table, or in reading and meditating. He took upon him, also, the office of sub-prior, and afterwards of teacher of the novices. The latter office was the more welcome because many of the youth had been attracted to the convent by his growing name. When sixty-seven (1447), he was again chosen sub-prior, and continued in this modest office, it seems, to the end of his life, or for nearly twenty-five years.

A life such as his has exceeding uniformity. It is like a clear crystal stream, flowing with low murmur through a level and smooth vale, reflecting from its surface the beams of the sun in an almost cloudless sky. Or, the cloister in which Thomas dwelt more than seventy years, giving it its principal renown, is the safe harbor, whither he early retired, where he lay in quiet and safety, away from the storms of the raging, restless ocean around him. Yet he, too, must learn that even in consecrated cloister walls undisturbed peace may not be found. The Oberyssel province, and with it St. Agnes's convent, was visited by the plague again and again in his life (1421, 1450, 1452, 1454). He saw the victims fall about him; their names he himself commemorates in the convent chronicles. He was brought much vexation, too, by the attacks upon the Brothers of the Common Life, by the Romanist clergy, especially by a Dominican named Grabow. His faith and patience were further tested by the forced exile of himself and his brethren. A strife rising between pope Martin Fifth and the see of Utrecht, on the choice of a bishop for the latter, a portion of Oberyssel, that went against the pope, was visited with his interdict. The St. Agnes brethren favored the pope's cause, yet disregarded his interdict, and so were sharply persecuted from all sides, and obliged to leave the country (1429). Twenty-four canons, Thomas, who had just been made sub-prior, among them, were forced to flee to Friesland. There they remained in the convent of Lunekerk till the pope's death ended the strife, removing the interdict (1432), when they returned in peace. This must have been to Thomas a time of inner conflict and outer trouble. At least the unknown chronicler of his death in the cloister records tells us "that he endured, especially in earlier years, severe want, trial, and toil." He himself, when warning against too great confidence in men, expressly declares, "I have been a learner in this to my loss, and may God grant to me greater carefulness and avoidance of new follies."

These storms past, Thomas lives a "still-life" of the noblest sort.

His whole career, indeed, reminds us of those characteristic "still-life" paintings of the Netherland school of that century. He lived ever at peace with his comrades, as cannot be doubted of one whose maxim was, "Even in things that must be done, better to speak in a requesting than a commanding tone. Be ready to oblige all that want anything of thee, yet let none about thee be idle. Attend to little every-day duties without saying much about them. In important religious matters consult thy superiors. Meddle not with business that is not intrusted to thee. The covetous is always in want. To the believing soul belongs the world with its treasures." He lived at peace with himself, answering to his own picture of the man of God: "of serene countenance, calm and pleasant in speech, circumspect and methodical in action, scattering peace and blessings all about him." His soul dwelt in contemplation, and in the life hid with Christ in God. He seldom spoke without object, especially if the talk was on the things of earth. When it was of God or heaven, his words flowed like a river. He set an example of earnest conscientiousness in the use of time. He was first at morning prayers, and, having left his bed, did not again return to it, but began work, copying or composing. He took only the rest his body demanded. When the Vesper or the Gloria died away in the evening, he was the last to leave the chapel-choir. He furthered in all practicable ways the interests of his house, in which his heart lay. He did not timidly shun the stranger who came from afar to see and hear him. He preached frequently in the popular tongue, and without writing, hav-
 ing first meditated upon his theme, and taken a short nap.

As preacher and teacher.

He especially devoted himself to training new-comers in the convent, of whom he had the especial care. His chief happiness was still in holy solitude with his God. "When he prayed, his countenance seemed transfigured," records his biographer. "He stood, with his feet barely touching the earth, as if he would fly away to heaven, where were his thoughts and his desires." When talking with the brethren, he would often hear the voice of the Lord within him, and beg leave to withdraw, saying, "I must go, for there is one with whom I must speak in my cell." Like most Christians of his day, he observed certain ascetic practices. Though ever temperate in eating and drinking, of chaste mind and pure morals, he would, on certain days, scourge himself, to the regular chanting of a Latin hymn, "Stetit Jesus." No wonder that he kept his body under subjection to his soul. He was of middle stature, fresh but dark complexion, of eyesight undimmed even in old age. His first biographer, Francis Tolensis, complained that no complete sketch of his appearance had been handed down. Yet he had seen a half-dimmed picture of Thomas, with the inscription, "In all things I have sought repose, but found it only in retirement and books" (in Dutch, "in hoxkens ende bokskens"). Of his last days but few facts

are known. His departure could not be grievous, whose whole life was a contemplation of heaven. He had closed his brother John's eyes long years before (1432), in Bethany cloister, near Arnheim. He had no tie of kindred left, so far as known. Hence dying was the easier, when he was called in almost patriarchal age into the rest of his Lord. The cloister record says, "In the year 1471, on the day of James the Less (July 25th), died our well-beloved brother Thomas à Kempis, in the ninety-second year of his age. In his extreme old age he had suffered from dropsy in the ankles. He fell asleep blessed in the Lord." It may seem strange, in view of the lofty reputation for piety justly enjoyed by À Kempis, that he was not canonized by the church of Rome, as were many less deserving ones. The reason may, perhaps, be found not only in the lack of the marvelous in the stories of his life, but also in the disfavor shown by Rome to the Brothers of the Common Life, who were outside all the approved orders, and so were counted largely secular. He has meanwhile gained what transcends all the dubious honors of Rome, — the grateful acknowledgments of Christians of every creed, for the help he has given them in the Christian life.¹

¹ We may well ask the question, How far does Thomas deserve a place among the pioneers of the Reformation, and the leaders of evangelic Christianity? His importance here must not be exaggerated. In belief and practice he stood with the church of his day. He could hardly be devoted enough to Mary, Agnes, and other saints. In childish simplicity, he tells of visions of Mary. He was not free from the Pelagian bias of mediæval theology. He decidedly advocates the Romish doctrine of absolution and transubstantiation. He teaches unlimited obedience to the church's authority. He touches lightly on the corruptions of the hierarchy, as if he hardly saw its diseases in that notoriously evil period. Nowhere do we hear him, like Huss or Wiclif, protest against errors and abuses emphatically and indignantly. Even as he writes of the "imitation of Christ," so he was disposed to imitate rather than to lead, to serve rather than to rule. That he never rose above the office of sub-prior is a symbol and portrait of his life. Still his work was reformatory, less through what he said than what he left unsaid, and above all through the spirit of his life and character. He did for theology what Socrates did for philosophy, — brought it from the lofty, unapproachable heights to the regions of human society and every-day life. He left Romish dogmas unattacked, yet stirred a striving and longing for direct, personal intercourse of the soul with God and Christ, which could only prove fatal in the end to Romanism, and encourage the Reformation. He opposed to the mechanical religiousness of Romanism the value of personal heart-piety, beside which all else was nothing. Curiously enough he mentions the pope but once, and then to say that he is a dying man (and nothing, with all his bulls). It is as if he would show by example that one can be an advanced Catholic Christian, without having aught of the ultramontanist, Jesuitical leaven of later years. The liberty which has been named the root of the Reformation appears in him in its true importance. He also expressly recommended Bible-reading, put the Bible by his copies into the hands of others, preached as it seems to the people in their own language, and promoted the education of the young by every means in his power. That his principles in their development would divide the defiled church was, perhaps, imagined by no one less than by Thomas. It is notable that we hear him say, "Ye should trust more to grace and mercy, than to prayer and good works; obedience is better than sacrifice." We should also take note that to confirm and support his sayings he cited, almost exclusively, the Bible, hardly ever the fathers and teachers of the church, and still more rarely councils or papal decrees. To all this let us add that under him grew up a man who may more certainly be reckoned a pioneer of the Reformation, the renowned John Wessel. Pointing out these and other signs of the Reformation in Thomas, we will say, finally, that his great work may be called a striking symbol of evangelic catholicism. The *Imitation* directs us almost wholly to things in which all Christians agree: we can hardly lay the book down without thinking how much, in spite of differences, the two great bodies of Christendom have in common. Must not believing Catholics and the true sons of Reformation, as they extend brotherly hands over this book, and accept its chief contents unreservedly, become more closely united?

À Kempis's complete works have been frequently issued; but none other has won the reputation or borne the fruit of the "Imitation." The man is yet dearer to Christendom than his books; not merely because he represents the genuine German ascetic mysticism of his day, but because he was a live Christian. Though he won no martyr's crown, he was a martyr in daily self-sacrifice for Christ, beyond most men before and after him. He learns yonder the truth of his own words, that the way of the cross is the royal way of Christ. And surely his bliss will not be disturbed because he who so wished to be unknown is known and honored by so many thousands. From heaven he seems to call in Paul's words: "Do ye imitate me as I imitate Christ!" And if we may write a sentence of Paul's beneath his portrait, it is this: "As unknown and yet well known; as dying and behold we live; as chastened and yet not killed; as sorrowing yet always joyful; as poor and yet making many rich; as having nothing yet possessing all things."—J. J. V'O.

LIFE X. JOHN WESSEL.

A. D. 1420—A. D. 1489. LAICAL LEADER, — GERMAN LANDS.

AMONG the men who prepared the way of reform in Germany, and who may appropriately be called "Reformers before the Reformation," John Wessel takes a front place. He is called, even by Bayle, the forerunner of Luther. By his most noted biographer, his life and deeds are compared to the early rays before the sunrise, breaking through the vapors and clouds of the horizon. Since such is his place, we are not surprised at the mixture of poetry with truth in the older accounts of his life and adventures. It proves the profound impression made by this Christian champion, traveled and learned as he was, upon the people about him; and their disposition to glorify him, as they attempt to describe him, now as "The Light of the World," again as "The Master of Controversy."

His birth and death alike took place in Gröningen; the former (1420) in a house on Herren Street, still distinguished by the Wessel escutcheon (the goose), the latter (1489) in a convent which has since been turned into a home for orphans, and is known now as the City, or the Red Orphan Asylum. The life of Wessel, however, was mostly spent in the cities of Germany, France, Italy, and, as some say, Greece and Egypt; in learning, teaching, disputing, with discourse and argument that never flagged, yet were so exciting and captivating that with his hearers days passed as hours. In his mingled seriousness and pleasantry there was the same clearness and depth as shine forth from his face. A strong open countenance it is, in the likenesses that have come down to us, its features compact but frank and elevated in their His personal appearance.

expression, with seriousness on the brow, intelligence in the eye, and a play of drollery upon the lips.

Herrman, the father of Wessel, was a worthy master baker, whose family had come from the village or farm of Gansfort (whence his surname of Gansfort, or in Dutch Goesfort), on the left bank of the Ems, in Westphalia. Both he and the boy's mother (a daughter of the respectable family of Clautes) died during John's boyhood. The child was taken by a wealthy kinswoman, Oda or Ottilie Clantes, well known for her womanly traits, and educated along with her boys, first in Gröningen, afterwards in the famous school of the Brethren of the Common Life, in Zwoll. The bright lad soon showed on one hand a tendency to introspective piety, on the other to controversy, which also was characteristic of that company of wide-awake Christians. His spirit is indicated in the anecdotes of his intercourse with Thomas à Kempis, who was forty years his senior, and was living in Agnesberg, half an hour's walk from Zwoll. John was so impressed by À Kempis's "Imitation of Christ," that he ascribed to it his first strong impulses to piety. He called it also the foundation of true theology. Through his inclination to mysticism, he was almost led to enter À Kempis's convent. But, as says his most ancient biographer, "he had from childhood a deep repugnance to anything approaching superstition." Besides, a purely contemplative life did not suit him. With an ardent, profound piety he joined an eager thirst for knowledge and an untiring activity on the side of what afterwards made itself known as the Evangelic Reformation. So when Thomas one day was exhorting young Wessel to give especial veneration to Mary, John replied, "Why not, father, take me direct to Christ, who so kindly invites to Him the weary and heavy-laden?" The same spirit was shown in his answer, when admonished to keep days of fasting: "God grant that all my life may be a day of cleanness and sobriety, a time of fasting from sin and slander." À Kempis was greatly amazed at his speeches, and was led by them to change many a thing in his writings, that seemed superstitious. So says the story, which serves at least to show the high opinion entertained of young Wessel's powers of criticism, independence, and daring frankness. In these characteristics, as well as in the exceeding fervor and depth of his piety, he has a place with the pioneers of the Reformation. He fulfills the thought of one of his own later utterances: "Jesus seeks in man the image of God, given us once more in Him, even truth, purity, and love; if we have not these, our souls are dark indeed."

Wessel's religious life was further promoted at Zwoll by his room-mate, John of Cologne, to whom he in turn imparted instruction in science. His talent for teaching and debating had opportunity given it for exercise by his appointment as a teacher, and as "lector" of the third class. His modest bearing in that office may be accepted as a mark of his sin-

cere piety. The trait became more marked afterwards, keeping his early inclination to jest within limits, and softening the sharpness of the dry wit which never left him.

The Christianity of the Bible, accepted by him fully and spiritually, was the basis of his theology, the impelling motive and ideal of his life. Hence he says, "The man who by daily reading of the Scriptures becomes not more displeased with self, and humbled, not only reads the Bible to no profit, but even to his peril." He defended himself, in a debate respecting indulgences, against the charge that he was proud, stiff-necked, and eager for notoriety, in the following remarkable language: "If thou couldst look into my heart thou wouldst find not pride, but a downcast spirit, begging God in his mercy not to allow me to fall into error through my stiffneckedness, of which I am aware. Believe me, if I go wrong it is less from passion than from weakness. I am conscious in a good and earnest heart of seeking after truth so zealously as to be ready, even after I think that I have found it, to be corrected, not only by learned and experienced persons like thyself, but by even the lowliest, by myself, and ready also to acknowledge my mistake."

The quiet scene of his boyish training, though it afterwards proved an attractive home to the tired warrior in his old age, did not content the youth. Neither his thirst for knowledge, nor ^{Goes out into} his wish for a larger field for the declaration of opinions different from the accepted traditions, could be gratified there. He left Zwoll, first writing a defense of himself, and went to Cologne University, into the "Laurentius," a college founded by a professor from Gröningen. He studied Greek there with monks who had fled out of Greece, and Hebrew with the Jews, both of great value to his thorough understanding of the Bible. By diligent use of the library, he made up for the want of public lectures. By repeated perusals of Rupert of Deuz, he strengthened his mystic tendency; by diligent study of Plato, he trained his mind in philosophy, and was prepared to judge the prevailing scholastic theology, which rested upon Aristotle. He thus advanced to the degree of master of philosophy. Yet his thirst for a clearer knowledge of the truth was not satisfied in Cologne, or even comprehended. He was still eager to ask and investigate, to learn and know by the means then in vogue, of public and private disputations. Hence he declined a call to Heidelberg and went to the recently established University of Louvain, and thence to Paris. There the newly excited rivalry of the two schools of scholasticism, realism and nominalism, detained our student for sixteen years. He grew, meanwhile, into mature manhood, allying himself with the Nominalists, as did most men of reforming proclivities. In this meeting-place of European scholarship, and centre of culture and of intellectual influence, Wessel (who had also the Greek surname of Basil) was stimulated by the cardinal Bessarion, and by Francis of Novera, the

general of the Franciscans and afterwards pope under the title of Sixtus Fourth. In his turn, Wessel exerted great influence upon John Reuchlin and Rudolph Agricola. Meanwhile he visited some of the French cities most noted for culture, to hold debates upon philosophy. Yet he was no rhetorical pugilist, but a diligent seeker of truth, always ready to correct himself and purposing to give up his system "whenever convinced that there was in it anything contrary to the faith."

His religious belief, founded on the gospel, was never changed; only the form in which he applied it altered; nor did he change this through love of novelty, but sincere desire of the truth. He says of himself, "From childhood I have sought truth above all things. I seek it now more than ever, because only through truth is the way of life." Elsewhere he declares, "Truth's warfare is such that whether victor or vanquished, I grow in the liberty of the children of God. Truth promises those who abide by her their liberty. This warfare Jesus commanded us to wage in order to attain his kingdom." His delight in the contests of acute minds accorded with his desire to teach and know. It proceeded from a love to Christ as the Truth and from the conviction that love must confirm and prove herself in the light of truth, even as also knowledge must be established in love. "Knowledge," he says, "is not the chief thing: whoever will know, simply for the sake of knowing, is a fool, because he does not taste the fruit of knowledge, nor use his knowledge wisely." The heart of his thought and theology was his religion, and his religion was love of God and man. In advanced old age, he writes in a letter, "Only in love is life, and only in holy love is a holy life. We must love the Elder Brother, and by Him be led back to the Father. If we love not Him with pure heart, we cannot see his face." In his "Meditations," he says, "What ought I to give Him, to whom I can give nothing that is not his, nothing that He has not given me? . . . How can I show gratitude, I who am infinitely indebted, and yet am so poor? By acknowledging Him only, by confession, by returning to God, admiring, loving, glorifying Him, and sweetly enjoying his bounty. . . . So then, I am thine, O God; more thine than mine, and if there is aught in me, it is because Thou hast willed it. . . . In every condition be this the strong anchor of my sinking ship, only to will, because Thou willest."

Such being Wessel's belief, it is easy to conceive that he not only dis-
Rejects papal impostures. approved of indulgences, masses for the dead, and the like contrivances, but opposed also those who recommended many prayers, long litanies, countless rosaries, and psalm-singsings as the best religious preparations. He says, "None comes to Jesus except through Jesus, and in Jesus' way; the true way is living faith." Again he says, "Our good works nourish and strengthen faith; but they do not give life, they only strengthen life's ligaments. Christ and the Spirit alone give life. Christ's sacrifice sanctifies us." In the same way he writes,

“No fulfilling of obligation by the beloved pleases the lover unless it be from love. Love is more than the fulfilling of obligation. Faith is the spring of love; faith is well-pleasing by reason of that which it produces.”¹

Wessel's approach to the central doctrine of the Reformation is vividly portrayed in his assertion, “The believer's soul is saved through his faith, but not for the sake of his faith.” In the same direction point his Bible studies and thoroughly Scriptural theology. How he valued the Bible is shown in the following story, which illustrates at the same time his Christian sentiment. When Francis of Novera became pope, he invited his friend Wessel to ask some favor. The latter with decided frankness replied, “You know, holy father, that I have never striven after great things. But since you are now clad in the office of chief pastor and earthly shepherd, I wish that your calling should correspond to your title, and that you so exercise your office that when the Chief Shepherd, whose head servant you are, shall appear, He may say, ‘Thou good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord!’ and that you may confidently reply, ‘Lord, thou gavest me five pounds, behold here are other five pounds, which I have gained.’” When the pope remarked that he would take this to heart, but that Wessel must now ask something for himself, the latter said, “Then I beg that you give me out of the Vatican library a Greek and Hebrew Bible.” “You shall have it,” said Sixtus, “but, you foolish man, why did you not ask a bishopric, or something of like sort?” “Because I did not want it,” Wessel said as he accepted the Bible.

On one occasion, when Wessel was at the table in a Cistercian convent, hearing a production read, made up of insipid stories, he laughed to himself in his pleasant way. When asked why he was laughing, he replied, “I laugh at those huge lies. Better were it if the brethren would read the Holy Scriptures, or the ‘Devotions of Bernard.’” He laid down this genuine gospel principle, “Only when the clergy and the teachers agree with the true and only Teacher, and lead us nearer Him, ought they to be regarded.” Hence he would compare all the utterances of prelates, doctors, bishops, or councils, with the Apostles and prophets, whose words were certainly from God's Spirit.

Wessel's Protestant position further appears in that he deliberately opposes the famous utterance of Augustine, “I would not believe the gospel, if not moved thereto by the authority of the Catholic church.”

¹ This last expression is not to be understood as if Wessel counted faith in itself meritorious and to be offered instead of works. He has said, a little before, “We believe that a man is justified through faith in Jesus Christ without works.” He is engaged in showing that while the Apostles James and Paul differ they do not conflict. Hence he explains more exactly that while we know a man is alive by his activities, yet a man does not live by these activities, but by that which produces them. This he applies to faith, which he counts as living only when inseparably joined with love; when uniting us with God and Christ it cleanses us from sin and makes us ever holier. By his strong and frequent emphasizing of love, which is given special significance in his doctrine of redemption, justification, and sanctification, Wessel allies himself, as Ullmann correctly perceives, with the mystic theology, while his magnifying the Pauline doctrine of justification through faith points ahead to the theology of the Reformation.

Wessel says, "We believe the gospel for God's sake; we believe the pope and the church for the gospel's sake, not the gospel for the church's sake." In like manner he teaches respecting the church: "We must acknowledge one universal church, but must find its oneness in its one faith, its one divine master, its one corner-stone, not in its having one Peter, or one successor of Peter, in a place of authority." Accordingly, he would believe in company with the church, and in harmony with the church, but would not believe upon the church, because faith was an act of worship, an offering precious to God, which should be presented to God alone.

Wessel's views were strengthened and developed by his residence in Italy, and especially by his stay in Rome. Thither in those days flocked earnest spirits, young and old. Thence from time to time not a few came back with such thoughts and experiences as are ascribed to Martin Luther and also to John Wessel. The repugnance of the latter to entering the clerical office did not diminish. This appears when Wessel, after returning from Italy and making brief stops in Paris and in Basel (where in 1475 he lived along with Reuchlin), accepted a call to Heidelberg to build up its university. He would not teach in the theological faculty, because to obtain the degree of master of divinity he would have had to assume the vows of priesthood. So he entered the faculty of philosophy. His residence here, although short, produced blessed results. The effects of his labors in the Palatinate endured till the Reformation.

For reform the time was not yet come, nor was it work suited to Wessel. Yet he could say with sincerity, "I fear no danger which I incur for the sake of the pure faith; only let calumny be spared." This utterance he made after his return to Holland, when there came a report of the proceedings instituted by the inquisitors of Cologne, against John of Wesel (a contemporary of Wessel). For in imagination he saw the stake prepared for himself. The old man came back to the place of his early training, and labored there the last ten years of his life. He was still fond, it appears, of the mystic theology. The aged teacher, tired of controversy, found under the protection of bishop David, of Burgundy, a welcome opportunity for quiet reflection and religious enjoyment, and also for giving scientific form to his thoughts and experiences. Besides, he could have edifying intercourse with his associates in Gröningen, at the Agnesberg, and in the neighboring abbey of Adwert. In the last, which was renowned for its schools, there lived, a contemporary writer says, many models of monastic excellence. "Not so," says Wessel, "do the thirsty long for the pure spring, the hungry for offered bread, the loving for good news from a far country, as does the wise man for a hidden, restful, faithful, certain, fruitful, cheerful, intelligent interview with his mistress, Wisdom." With a clear insight into the church's condition, Wessel pointed his

young friends to the approach of the time when scholastic teaching would be abjured by all truly Christian scholars. Meanwhile he was the centre of an influential circle of gifted and pious pupils and friends. He gave frequent vent to his dislike of all cant and formalism. Yet he did not oppose order and established customs, provided they brought nothing mechanical into religious exercises. He was himself accustomed, on the day when he took the Lord's Supper, to read to the brethren of the Agnesberg the farewell prayer of Christ (John xvii.), and make remarks upon it. He greatly loved the Lord's Prayer. When asked by the brethren whether he prayed, since he used no prayer-book or rosary, he answered, "By the help of God, I try to pray always. Notwithstanding, I repeat the Lord's Prayer every day; but that prayer is so pure and lofty, that it were enough if I read it but once a year." He wrote a special work upon it, in which he says, "This prayer possesses a hidden power, I know not what, over all other prayers, and secures, to him who carefully uses it, devout feelings in abundance. For a fruitful land, under the spring and summer sun, yields not so many fruits as does Christ's prayer to an enkindled heart. But it requires one to use diligence and care."

It is a noteworthy fact that very often those Christians who are furthest advanced in religious life have to endure, towards the last, the sharpest assaults. Such a struggle was not spared this brave champion and tried witness. It threatened to grow into doubt even of the truth of the Christian religion. Long before he had called that a happy day when he would advance to the eternally perfect life of love. And now his Lord helped him in his extremity, and in the very face of death, to utter this last confession: "I thank God all those idle thoughts are gone. I know none now save Christ the crucified." So fell asleep in the Lord, gently and joyfully, that man of whom Luther said, afterwards, "If I had read Wessel first, my adversaries might have fancied that Luther had taken everything from Wessel, we are so entirely alike in spirit." — C. B. M.

LIFE XI. JOHN WICLIF.

A. D. 1324?—A. D. 1384. CLERICAL LEADER, — ENGLAND.

OF the preparers of the Reformation one of the foremost is John Wiclif. He has obtained his place not simply by his success, which was extended and unbroken; he has earned it by his character also, his resolute manhood, Christian wisdom, and untiring zeal. He was born in the North Riding of Yorkshire, in Wiclif parish, in the little village of Spreswell, now extinct. His family, the Wiclifs of Wiclif, were gentry

and well-to-do in worldly things. Like their neighbors they held tenaciously through all the centuries to the marked characteristics of the Saxon Germans.

The time of Wiclif's birth is not certain, but was not later than the year 1324, and perhaps a year or two earlier. Of his childhood and youth no authentic accounts have been preserved. The first distinct facts in his life relate to his early manhood. He had for some time already been at Oxford University, receiving his preparatory training. Probably he was a scholar first at Balliol College, which some fifty years before had been founded by a noble Norman family, the Balliols of Bernard Castle, near Wiclif parish. John proved from the start a zealous student. Confined as he was to the studies of his period, he remained without knowledge of Greek or Hebrew. His writings show that the Greek classics and the Greek church literature were known to him only in Latin translations, and often only by hearsay. But in philosophy and theology (of the scholastic order), Wiclif was so zealous and successful as to become a master. Even his opposers testify that "in philosophy none surpassed him, in scholastic science none rivaled him." Nor did he stop here, but devoted himself ardently to mathematics and natural science, and like every genuine theologian of the Middle Ages, he became versed in the canon law.

When his college course was completed he still stayed at Oxford. Manhood came to him there, engaged in quiet labors, as a graduate and a fellow of one of the few colleges then existing. His course had probably been in Balliol College. But according to its rules, a student, at graduation, must give up his place upon the foundation. Wiclif hence accepted an election as fellow in Merton College, and, in 1356, as seneschal. Some years later, he was made "Master," in Balliol, where he had been a scholar. In 1365 he was chosen by Islip, the archbishop of Canterbury, as president of the new college founded by the latter. He lost this place after a year and a day. Islip dying (April 26, 1366), Simon Langham, a monk, became primate. Adhering to his monkish ideas, he deposed Wiclif and three of his associates and put monks in their places. Wiclif and his comrades appealed to the pope against the archbishop. The lawsuit was protracted, but ended (1370) with the defeat of Wiclif and the confirmation of his successor. The papists have tried to blacken Wiclif's character and motives by explaining his attacks on the papacy and its belongings as a revenge for this wound. The attempt is unjustified. His opposition to monkery, prelacy, and popery sprang from no personal feeling or commonplace motives, but from sound argument and strong conviction.

He had now (1365-1374) become a doctor of theology. He continued the lectures which he had begun as a bachelor of theology. Out of these discourses grew his theological works. Nor did he confine

himself to study, only. He exhibited decidedly practical talents as fellow and seneschal, and at last as president of Balliol. He had been described in archbishop Islip's letter (still extant), which justified the choice of him for the presidency of Canterbury Hall, as faithful, circumspect, and active. Wiclif had been presented (1361) by Balliol with the rectorship of Fillingham, but had not left Oxford. By leave of the bishop he sent a curate to supply the parish. He was warmly interested in the affairs of his country, like a true patriot. He never busied himself, however, with matters purely political, but only with such as concerned the church. His whole strength at last was spent upon questions of religion.

Until recently it has been believed that Wiclif's zeal for church reform was first shown in attacks on the Mendicant Friars. Such is not the case. He wrote as late as 1360, and even 1370, in praise of the friar orders. His antagonism to Rome had a very different origin. In 1365 an annual payment of a thousand marks, which had been omitted for thirty-three years, was demanded by the pope. This tax had been imposed, in 1213, on king John Lackland by Innocent Third. The matter was laid before Parliament (May, 1366) by Edward Third. It was unanimously voted by the Lords, spiritual and secular, and by the Commons, that king John was unauthorized to place the land, without their consent, under a foreign sovereign. They would support the crown with all their might and means against any step by the pope opposing the king. In this decision the pope (Urban Fifth) silently acquiesced. It was the last of any claim of papal lordship over England. In this great national question Wiclif had an interest. Receiving a challenge from a monkish doctor of theology to write on the subject, he published an argument wholly in accord with Parliament. The gauntlet was thrown down to him because as an expert in church matters he had been given a seat and voice in Parliament (May, 1366), and had wielded undoubted influence.

Some years later (1372) there appeared in England a papal agent, nuncio, and receiver of papal dues, one Arnold Garnier. He was allowed to collect revenues for the pope only on condition that he should first solemnly swear to maintain the rights of the crown and the interests of the nation. Nor did this quite satisfy the demands of patriots. A memorial appeared, written by Wiclif, in which he argued that it was a contradiction to swear not to hurt English rights and interests, and yet collect moneys in England for the papacy, and carry them out of the realm. Wiclif's patriotic and constitutional views came out very clearly, and also his upright and thoroughly Christian character. He opposed papal tyranny from regard to the pastoral office, and from the conviction that the Holy Scriptures were the sure rule of action.

In the summer of 1374 the English government, sending an embassy

to Bruges, in the Netherlands, to treat with the agents of Gregory Eleventh, upon the abolition of certain ecclesiastical taxes, named John Wiclif, doctor of theology, with two bishops and four gentlemen of the laity, as commissioners. Wiclif here attained his greatest honor and influence. The repeated nominations of Italians and Frenchmen to church offices in England, and the many taxes for the pope's benefit, had exasperated Englishmen of all classes. These abuses were to be corrected by the deputies. But the negotiations dragged and ended after a year and a day without any satisfactory results. To Wiclif, his residence in Bruges, then a city of note, and his intercourse with statesmen and papal prelates, were of vast benefit; an insight was afforded him into many matters, hardly to be acquired at home. His dealings with papal legates left him with impressions such as were left upon Luther after his return from Rome. Wiclif's frequent intercourse with John of Gaunt (duke of Lancaster, third son of king Edward Third), who was in Bruges, negotiating a peace with France, was also to have its influence on his life.

Upon the day when Wiclif is highest in fortune and popular esteem, full of renown as a scholar and a patriot, honored by his university and trusted by Parliament, statesmen, and sovereign, the storm bursts over him. He is twice, within a year (1377), summoned to appear before ecclesiastical courts: first before a convocation, then before certain prelates whom the pope had made commissioners. The church magnates assembled (February 19, 1377) in St. Paul's, London. Wiclif was ordered before them as guilty of "heretical teachings." But there came with him, as his champions, the duke of Lancaster and the chief marshal, Lord Henry Percy. These nobles were so vehement and even threatening, that the bishop of London, Courtenay, adjourned the sitting. Certain of the Londoners, who felt themselves insulted in their bishop, threatened in turn the nobles. The prelates appealed to Rome. The pope (Gregory Eleventh) issued (May 22, 1377) five bulls against nineteen of Wiclif's propositions. He addressed them to the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, king Edward Third, and the Oxford University. Meanwhile, Edward Third dying, Richard Second was king, and the summons for Wiclif to appear before the archbishop and bishop was delayed till December. Early in 1378, he presented himself before them in the chapel at Lambeth. An official of the king's mother (the widow of the Black Prince) was present, and forbade the commissioners passing judgment. The Londoners broke into the chapel, and took Wiclif's side with noisy threats. The latter escaped with nothing more than an admonition. Soon after this, on Gregory Eleventh's death (March 27, 1378), there broke out that long and tedious schism which shook papal authority to its foundations. Right-minded people were stirred to do everything to help raise up

the poor fallen church. Hitherto Wiclif has been a political reformer of the church. Now he comes forward as a genuine religious reformer, yet still without laying aside in the least his patriotism.

His first efforts were to reform preaching and to exalt the pastor's office. He began by attending to his own pastorate in person. Reforms the pastorate. Then he enlarged his field of effort. There have come down to us many of his sermons, Latin and English, bearing witness to the holy ardor with which he filled the office of preacher. The Latin sermons, of which there are several volumes, were no doubt given in Oxford, before members of the university. His English sermons, of which no less than two hundred and ninety-three have lately been given to the press, were in part delivered to his congregation at Lutterworth, in part prepared as models for the traveling preachers who went out from his school. Wiclif not infrequently criticises the sermons of his day. He denounces as a most grievous sin the preaching, not of God's Word, but of all kinds of stories and legends as far removed from the Bible as possible. His second principal charge is that when the Word of God is used, it is not preached rightly, but with all kinds of tricks of logic and rhetoric. He wants the Word of God preached; for it is the germ of regeneration and spiritual life. It must be preached as it is in the Bible. He answers the question, how to preach, saying, Appropriately, simply, directly, and from a devout, sincere heart. His own sermons, marked as they are by the customs and notions of his times, are yet full of zeal for God's honor, of care for the salvation of souls, of hearty earnestness on behalf of "a life of righteousness in Christ Jesus." With their sincerely devout spirit, their perfect sincerity and honesty, these sermons serve to indicate Wiclif's own religious attainments and modes of thought.

In April, 1374, Wiclif was by the king's favor presented with the parish of Lutterworth, a village in Leicestershire. While he was himself a model of faithfulness in preaching and pastoral work, he toiled every way to raise up preachers of the gospel far and near. This he achieved especially by his traveling preachers. Most probably he had organized a school of Bible ministers before he left Oxford, and had sent them out as volunteer preachers. Afterwards, when he had fully retired to Lutterworth, he was more earnest than ever in such efforts. His people, known as "poor priests," went out barefoot, staff in hand, clad in a long coarse garment of red cloth. From village to village, from city to city, they preached, admonished, and instructed. Wherever they found willing ears they expounded "God's Law" (that is, God's Word) in the mother English, with simplicity and fidelity, with penetration and power.

Wiclif went further. He held that not only should God's Word be preached to all, but the Bible should be the property of all. Father of the English Bible. He therefore commenced the translation of the Scriptures into English. Like Luther, he translated first the New Testament, but

from the Vulgate only, not like Luther from the original. The translation of the Old Testament was undertaken afterwards, not by himself, but by his friend and colleague, Nicholas of Hereford. When the whole Bible had been completed (probably in 1382), Wiclif proceeded to a careful revision and correction. The work was nevertheless not all done, as it seems, until four years after his death. It is noteworthy that the style of Wiclif in his English Bible, compared with his other English writings, excels in clearness, beauty, and force. This translation marks an era in the language of England as truly as does Luther's in that of Germany. As Luther's introduces the modern High German, so Wiclif's perfects the mediæval English.

In doctrine, Wiclif came more and more to the conviction that the Scripture alone is the rule of belief. This view he fully displayed in his work "On the Truth of Holy Scripture" (1378), refuting all possible objections. In one important passage he attacked the Romish system, severely criticising the schoolmen's doctrine of transubstantiation. Till 1378 he had been an adherent of the dogma. From that date his convictions changed, and in the summer of 1381 he published twelve short theses on the Lord's Supper, opposing transubstantiation. The serious objection he urges against the belief is its unscripturalness. Besides, it tended to idolatry, since the consecrated wafer received reverence due God only. It was an "abomination of desolation in the holy place." Wiclif held that in the sacrament there remained after consecration real bread and real wine. Yet it was at the same time Christ's body and blood. The body of Christ was thus received and enjoyed, really but spiritually, by the faithful partaker.

These views created an immense sensation at Oxford. The university chancellor appointed several doctors of theology and of law, among them eight monks, to sit in judgment on Wiclif's theses. They decided unanimously that the theses were false and heretical. Thereupon the chancellor issued a decree which declared the essence of the theses, as set forth in two propositions, to be contrary to the church's teaching. He forbade the publication or maintenance of them in the university, under pain of expulsion. Wiclif appealed to the king, but was told to refrain from all oral discussion upon the sacrament. He still in many a volume, large or small, Latin or English, presented his views upon the subject.

In 1382, the new archbishop of Canterbury, William Courtenay, took part against Wiclif and his party. A peasant insurrection had just been quelled, which the Romish side would have been glad to lay to Wiclif's teachings. The archbishop reaffirmed transubstantiation in a church assembly in London (May 17, 1382), and condemned the opposite doctrine as false and heretical. During the meeting, London was alarmed by a fearful earthquake. Wiclif took the visitation as a judgment upon the assembly, and always called it the "Earthquake Council."

The archbishop followed up its decree by sending to Oxford his prohibition of the condemned theses. He further moved Parliament against the Wiclifian traveling preachers. The king, Richard Third, commanded his sheriffs to take the heretics and their patrons into custody. The archbishop proceeded more decidedly to humble the principal men of Wiclif's school, and succeeded with Philip Repington, John Aston, and others. Wiclif himself was cited before a provincial synod, held in Oxford (November 18, 1382). Nothing, however, was done. Meanwhile, Wiclif memorialized the Parliament. Esteemed by the nation, he was handled gently by the hierarchy, and remained untouched for the two remaining years of his life. He continued quietly in Lutterworth village, doing his work as pastor, active as an author and leader of his Bible preachers. The story of his summons to Rome by Urban Sixth is an error, yet he was in danger of such citation. Knowing this, he was yet ready to suffer further for Christ's cause, and to end, if need be, his life as a martyr. But he was spared by the favor of God. After suffering two years from a partial paralysis, he was struck a second time while attending mass in the church of Lutterworth, December 28, 1384, just at the moment of the elevation of the Host. He was not able to speak again. He was relieved by death soon after, on the 31st of December, 1384.

Many years later (May 4, 1415), he was solemnly adjudged a heretic by the Council of Constance; his teachings were condemned, and his bones ordered to be dug up and scattered. The fate of his ashes.

This command was carried out twelve years afterwards. Fleming, bishop of Lincoln, being reminded by Martin Fifth (1427) of his obligation to execute the decree, caused Wiclif's remains, that had lain forty-three years in quiet under the chancel of Lutterworth church, to be disinterred, burned, and their ashes thrown into the river.

As we make an effort to present Wiclif's portrait in all its nobleness and grandeur, we are led involuntarily to compare him with one whose life began ninety-nine years after his ended, with Martin Luther. For both toiled with enthusiasm and untiring zeal to reform the church in head and members. Both strove not to tear down and destroy the church, but to build up and restore her to her apostolic perfection. Both stood on the foundation of the Holy Scriptures, refusing human doctrines and traditions. They found in the Bible the only source of truth and rule of faith and life. Both sought to make the Scriptures accessible to the people by publishing them in the popular tongue: Wiclif using the Latin text, Luther the original. Wiclif, however, had not Luther's warmth of soul and genial temperament. He was rather a man of intellect, of clear, sharp, penetrating mind. We feel in Wiclif the keen, fresh breeze of the morning before the sunrise; in Luther, some warming beams of the beneficent sun. To surpassing powers of intel-

lect, Wiclif joined a stout will, constant and heroic in its purposes. His convictions sprang from his moral nature. He reveals himself, as few have ever done, in his books. His life was like his belief, and stands forth in its manliness and vigor before the world. Both he and Luther took, as the heart of their doctrine, Jesus Christ as the only Saviour, the only mediator between God and man. But in viewing the means of salvation, Wiclif did not grasp the evangelic idea of justification through faith. Rather he inclined to credit good works in part with our righteousness before God, and to let the disciple claim some share of merit. Luther, on the other hand, clearly and fully maintained that justification was through faith only, and made this the centre of his creed. For this reason, especially, Wiclif proved not a reformer but only a forerunner of reformation. But even as such, he is most important, and deserving of our reverence. He first had the reforming spirit. He first with heart and life, with all the force of a transcending mind, with mighty will and Christian self-sacrifice, devoted himself to the work of church reform. And his "labor is not in vain in the Lord." — G. L.

LIFE XII. JOHN OLDCASTLE, LORD COBHAM.

A. D. 1360 ?—A. D. 1417. LAICAL LEADER, — ENGLAND.

THE man who lives to himself, though he shine ever so glorious in life, is soon lost to view, leaving no memory of good deeds behind him. The man who does God's work, promotes his truth, and advances his kingdom, bequeathes blessings that endure continually. Though Wiclif had died (1384), his spirit lived; not alone in the "poor priests" taught by him to preach a "free and pure" gospel according to "God's Law," rather than man's device; not alone in the thousands of the yeomanry and peasantry who gladly received the Word of God from the poor preachers; but also in numerous adherents of rank and high position, knights and peers of the realm. For there were such who were assured that they could use their wealth and influence in no better way than to help on a cause which was both to God's honor and to the liberty and welfare of the nation. The Lollards were at the same time Christians who cared eagerly for the soul's salvation, and patriots who longed for England's exaltation. Among the foremost of the patrons and defenders of the Wiclif party, in the noble classes, was John Oldcastle. For his sympathy with it he became an object of assaults, which at last brought a fearful catastrophe, involving this faithful confessor of the truth of the gospel in a horrible death.

Sir John Oldcastle was nobly born. Yet his peerage as Baron Cobham, and his seat and voice in the House of Lords, came to him in the right of his wife. He was an accomplished knight, a brave, able captain,

a gifted courtier, and a wise counselor. He stood high in favor with king Henry Fourth, who, in the autumn of 1411, intrusted him with the forces sent to assist the duke of Burgundy in raising the siege of Paris. But Oldcastle valued God's grace above the king's favors. He owed his conversion, under God, to Wiclif and his doctrine. His first dread of sin, as he openly acknowledged in a trial before the English primate, was excited by the teaching of Wiclif. From that time he resolved to follow Christ, and promote, as he was able, the "free and pure" preaching of God's Word. He attended in person upon the sermons of the itinerant preachers; he stoutly resisted all who would interfere with them; he assisted the Lollards, when threatened by the hierarchy, with his position and influence; he even himself sent out traveling preachers, without soliciting any episcopal sanction.

Such a man, we may be sure, was a thorn in the side of the Romanist bishops. But they lacked courage, or at least opportunity, to attack directly a person so high in position and popular at court. They began, therefore, with his chaplain, one John, who had preached as an itinerant, under his master's protection, in several villages of Kent upon the estates of Oldcastle, and without leave from the bishop of Rochester. He was summoned by the primate (1410) to appear before him, and the churches where he was wont to preach were put under an interdict.

After king Henry Fourth's death (1413), when his son, who as prince of Wales had led a mad career, succeeded him as Henry Fifth, an attack was made directly upon Oldcastle. At first it referred only to a book in his possession. By taking certain offensive passages from it, which Oldcastle had no intention of defending, his foes turned the king against him. Further charges were preferred against Oldcastle by the Convocation (June 26, 1413), which moved his trial for fostering error, and protecting unlicensed itinerants. It was the counsel of primate Thomas Arundel that they first go to the king and lay the matter before him. By this means Henry Fifth was led to try by personal interviews to change Oldcastle, but without success. The latter would not resign his convictions, but held them fast. At last (August, 1413), a very severe rebuke was administered to him by the king at the castle of Windsor. Oldcastle left the court, repaired to his castle of Cowling, in Kent, and fortified it. The king informed the primate of his failure, and called upon him to proceed according to the ecclesiastical law.

At once a written summons was sent by the primate to Cowling castle. No notice was taken by Oldcastle. A second summons was affixed publicly to the door of Rochester Cathedral. When Oldcastle did not appear within the time named therein, he was put under the ban by the primate for obstinate disobedience, and again summoned to answer the charge of heresy. Soon after Oldcastle was cast into the Tower, having probably surrendered voluntarily to the king. From the Tower he

was taken (September 23, 1413) to the chapter-house of St. Paul's, before the archbishop and his court. He was promised by the primate that the ban should be taken off him, and absolution given, if he would petition it. This Oldcastle utterly refused to do, but asked permission to read his confession of faith, drawn up in the English language. This confession is conciliatory in tone, approaching as near as possible to the Romish belief. Yet it is frank and dignified, bespeaking a spirit of true godliness, and of noble, manly courage, and so compels respect from every unprejudiced person. It treats of the Lord's Supper, of repentance, of images, and of pilgrimages. The primate, having counseled with the bishops of London and Rochester, and several doctors of theology and law, could not but acknowledge that his written statement contained much that was good and orthodox. But he asked a more exact and frank declaration on certain points, especially the Lord's Supper and oral confession. Oldcastle refused all further explanations, and could not be induced to acknowledge papal or prelatie decisions as binding in matters of doctrine.

He was led back to the Tower. A second hearing came on September 25th, and the primate again invited him to beg for absolution. The knight replied: "No, verily, that I will not do. I have never sinned against you, therefore I will not beg forgiveness of you!" At these words he knelt down on the floor, lifted his hands toward heaven, and prayed:

His touching
confession. "I confess to Thee, thou ever-living God, that I have in my weak youth sinned grievously against Thee, through pride, anger, wantonness, and unbridled passion. To many persons have I in my wrath done harm, and have committed many other grievous sins. Good Lord! I pray Thee, have mercy." Then he rose in tears, and exclaimed in a loud voice to those standing near, "Look ye, good people, look ye; for a transgression of God's law and his chief commandments they have never yet accused me, but for sake of their own laws and traditions they treat me and others most shamefully. Therefore they and their laws shall, according to God's promise, be destroyed utterly!"

The archbishop continued the examination, questioning the accused upon his belief, repeating certain questions which had been asked in writing. The knight replied with a candid direct confession respecting the Lord's Supper, auricular confession, the sign of the cross, and the "power of the keys." Nor did he hesitate to name Rome as the nest of antichrist, the pope his head, the prelates, priests, and regular monks his body, the begging monks his tail. At one time, he extended his arms and called aloud to all those present, "These who judge and condemn me will mislead you and drag you with themselves down to hell. Beware of them!" He again fell on his knees, praying for his enemies and persecutors. Remaining true to his convictions and answering the

primate and his doctors on every point bravely and composedly, Oldcastle received sentence from the court as follows: "Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, as a pernicious heretic is hereby excommunicated, along with all his comrades and associates in belief, and is handed over to the civil law."

The sentence was not immediately executed. The knight was given forty days for reflection. Towards the end of this period, he succeeded in escaping from the Tower. A company of bold Londoners, in a dark night (October 27-28, 1413), went to the Tower, rescued him, and took him to his home in Smithfield. There he remained unmolested for three months. The pronounced enemies of the Lollards have left us a story which ascribes to the latter a scheme to waylay the king and his brother at their country seat of Eltham. Upon its discovery, the king repaired to Westminster. They then concerted a night meeting at St. Giles, near London (January 7, 1414), intending with help from London to put down king and lords, prelates and monks; and they expected Sir John Oldcastle to lead them. But the king was ahead of them in occupying St. Giles, and overwhelmed the mob. Thirty-nine were condemned, by a summary process, and hanged or burned as traitors. It is true there was a night insurrection at St. Giles (January 6-7). But who its instigators and abettors were, is utterly unknown. The plot thought to be connected with it is charged upon Oldcastle. The slightest proof of guilt has never yet been adduced against him.

A royal proclamation was issued against Oldcastle (January 11, 1414). He lay concealed some months, nor is it known when he quitted his house in town. He was discovered first in Wales, in 1417, and after a brave defense was captured and brought to London. His trial took place, December 1-4, 1417, before the House of Lords. He refused to defend himself, commending himself to God as the One to whom vengeance belongs. He closed by saying, "But with me, it is a very small thing, that I should be judged of you, or of man's judgment." The final sentence was pronounced that he be hanged as a traitor and burned as a heretic. It was literally executed. He was laid on a cart, his hands tied behind him, and dragged from the Tower through the city to St. Giles's Fields. Then he was taken from the cart. Falling on his knees he entreated the Almighty to forgive his enemies. Rising he admonished the crowd of spectators to keep God's law as written in the Bible, and to beware utterly of teachers whose life and conduct were opposed to the Master. He was then suspended by chains between the gallows. A fire was kindled under him, burning him slowly to death. While he had breath, he praised God, commending his soul to his hands. Thus perished Oldcastle, first of Wiclifites, not only in rank and influence, but in moral worth and Christian spirit. His was a steadfast martyr death, without fear and without reproach.

— G. L.

LIFE XIII. JOHN HUSS.

A. D. 1369—A. D. 1416. CLERICAL LEADER, — BOHEMIA.

THE name John Huss awakes in us feelings, and calls up images, not unlike those evoked by the name John Baptist. In spirit we hear "the voice of one crying in the wilderness." The prophet's stern visage rises upon our soul. We think of the morning star, the forerunner and preparer of the way; we see two ages, that knew hot conflict and fierce collision, one side against another, striving for the victory.

We betake ourselves in spirit to the fifteenth century. It is difficult to describe how sad the church's condition then seemed. The Lord's vineyard was a desert; thorns and thistles covered it, in place of vines. The priesthood was grown worldly and even dissolute. The popes, overstepping all limits in their assumptions, led lives scandalous and horrible beyond measure. The monkish orders were following them in the way of ruin. Simony, extortion of every kind, and concubinage were the order of the day. Church assemblies seemed only held for the bacchanalian orgies that went with them. During the Council of Constance, there were no less than fifty thousand strangers in the town, and a great swarm of abandoned women among them. At this time the church saw at her head three pretended vicegerents of Christ, instead of one, alternately excommunicating and cursing each the others. The poor people, designedly chained down by basest superstitions, fainted as sheep without a shepherd. Was it a wonder, when a part of them, casting aside all restraints of chastity and morality, followed in the footsteps of their corrupt leaders, and gave themselves up to every vice, if the other and nobler portion, in sore need of the bread and water of life, gave vent to loud and still louder demands for the church's reformation, in head and in members? Already have met us eminent representatives of this desire for a new birth of all Christendom. They differed certainly in their vision of their object. In Italy, those princes among poets, Dante and Petrarch; in England, Wiclif and his numerous adherents; in Germany, the so-called "Friends of God," who, with the "Brethren of the Common Life" in the Netherlands, wrought in quiet, reforming first themselves. These all were preparing the new future for the church, but in

advance of all of them was the Moravian-Bohemian church. The church in Bohemia. It had been founded in the ninth century, by the help of those excellent evangelists Cyril and Methodius, in well-nigh apostolic purity. Only after centuries of continued conflict did it submit to Rome. And now it burned with longing for a return to its ancient position and customs. One of the first pillars and champions of this reforming tendency was John of Milic, archdeacon of Prague. Clad in coarse garments,

he went of his own accord as a traveling preacher, his soul on fire at the unexampled spiritual destitution of the people. Through his earnest words he so transformed a part of Prague inhabited by abandoned women and named "Little Venice," that it became a centre of genuine piety and was called "Little Jerusalem." Like another Samuel, he set up a school of the prophets, and gathered two or three hundred young men in an association, training them without charge, as preachers of a pure gospel. Before this he had, as Luther's forerunner, affixed on the gates of St. Peter's in Rome, upon a visit thither, a notice that on a certain day he would expose the antichrist rising within the church, and warn men against him. John of Milic was joined by a kindred mind in Conrad of Waldhausen, a German hailing from Austria, who in Vienna first, and now in Prague, took the field with all his might against the hollow lip-service of the church. He acknowledged those only as God's children who were moved by God's Spirit. He made successful war on the corrupt orders of the "Begging Friars," "leaky vessels," he called them, who still possessed great popularity and influence. Still a third in this band of faithful witnesses was Matthias of Janow. Less practical than the others, he sought to employ the lever of science upon the degraded church. His writings reveal the germs of the principles that afterwards were unfolded in the German Reformation. The sufficiency of a crucified Christ received by faith, the necessity of a new birth through the Holy Spirit, the universal spiritual priesthood of all believers, and their direct communion with Christ, were with him familiar ideas. His clear perception of faith, as a new life producing from its very nature every Christian virtue as its blossom and fruit, made him an inveterate foe of the false priests and mechanical services of the church.

Nourished upon the food of these three mighty men, influenced as they were by the thoughts of the English Wiclif, yet with an originality and fertility all their own, John Huss grew up. In earnestness, zeal, and learning, he was their equal. He was their superior as a reformer affecting the popular life. John Huss — his name sounds like a trumpet call to repentance [which is, in the German, *Buss*] — was born John Huss's youth. in the little hamlet of Husinec in Bohemia, of poor and lowly parents. In their humble cottage he breathed from infancy the atmosphere of an enlightened piety. In his mother, widowed in early life, he found his especial guide in the way of godliness. She was, without knowing it, the voice of the Lord to her child. She gave him in the cradle to God's service. With tears and prayers she herself took him, in time, to the high school in Prague. Two parties were there warring with one another: the high-church, headed by German doctors, and the reformed, under the advanced Bohemian theologians. Huss, influenced by his mother, chose his teachers from the latter, studying his Bible with avidity and thoroughness, and absorbing himself in the fathers, especially

Augustine. In 1396 he received his Master's degree, and gave lectures. In 1401 he was appointed preacher to the Bethlehem chapel. This was a church endowed by two citizens, with the express provision that there "the poor should have the gospel preached to them in their own tongue." His vocation there soon led him to see the religious destitution of the neglected people and the unexampled degradation and worldliness of the clergy. His anger waxed hot, like that of Moses, the servant of God, when he came down from the mount and saw the golden calf and the dancing. His sermons, springing from deepest conviction, insisted on reform and holiness of life. His example added enforcement, perfected as it was, step by step, in the fear of God. His pity, breathing through his words, moved the people. His glowing zeal for the honor of God and the church impressed them in a way till then unknown. He soon had a congregation numbering thousands. So long as he confined himself to lashing the sins of laymen, high and low, he was let alone by his clerical superiors. It gratified the archbishop, Ibynec of Hasenburg, a thorough man of the world, without religious convictions, to see Huss enter the field against the gross corruptions and superstitions of the times. When, however, Huss ventured to tell the clergy their sins and exhort them to practice poverty, self-denial, and the crucifying of the flesh with its affections and lusts, to preach to them, like Paul to Felix, of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, then a change occurred. His noble patron turned to be his worst enemy and adversary.

In 1408 came an event that greatly increased the reform agitation in Bohemia. The foreigners in Prague University, mostly high-church, and opposed to the new theological tendencies, were suddenly deprived of their ascendancy over the Bohemians. By virtue of an edict of king Wenceslaus, a single vote was given them in all university questions, against three to the Bohemians. [Before they had three, the Bohemians one. — ED.] This created ill feeling, and sent the German professors and students, many thousands in number, away from Prague, and to their own land, where, it may be noted, they gave rise to the University of Leipsic. The Bohemian party was now dominant in Prague, and elected Huss rector of their university. Hitherto kept together by national interests, it now divided. Two parties formed. The religious and ecclesiastical questions, till now kept in the background, became of the utmost importance. Instead of his absent German opponents, Huss all at once beheld a great array of those once his friends, marshaled against him. He heard himself called heretic, and accused of perfidy in that by influencing the king he had brought about the present deserted condition of the university.

From every side the storm burst upon Huss and his associates. He was accused by the priests to the archbishop. He stirred up, they said, the people against them; he preached contempt of the church and her penances; he called Rome the seat of anti-

Huss attacked
by the papists.

christ: he declared every priest that asked money for administering the sacraments a heretic; and he praised the heretic Wiclif, and pronounced him blessed. Immediately an investigation was set on foot against him. At the archbishop's instigation a papal bull soon appeared, which, among other matters, ordered all priests that held Wiclif's heresies to be taken in custody, and strictly forbade all preaching in private chapels. At once the archbishop sought to put the bull into execution, notwithstanding the king, upon petition of the university, had interposed his veto. By his orders, two hundred volumes were committed to the flames in his palace, among them Wiclif's works, and those of Milic and others. This *auto-da-fe* served only to create more enthusiasm in Bohemia for Wiclif and men of his spirit. Huss made appeal to pope John Twenty-third, in a thorough and comprehensive paper, in which he declared himself willing and ready to recant heartily, if convinced of error out of Holy Scripture. Nor could there be justly laid to him, with his practical turn and mode of working, any direct attack on the leading tenets of the church. That these tenets were opposed to the Bible was not yet clear to him. The tradition of the church seemed to him "the historical unfolding of her life, in accordance with Scripture truth." His great thought was the removing of abuses and deformities, and above all, the regenerating of religious life. In his effort for this, he was certainly guided by principles tending to reforms beyond what he thought of. For if, as he believed, Holy Scripture is, in the last instance, the decisive authority; if the true church is wherever the Spirit of God rules men's hearts; if every believer has immediate access to Christ, and needs no intervention of man; if absolution belongs to the priest in a restricted way only,—then Romanism falls. It did not help Huss with Rome, in the least, that he asserted, as a good Catholic, his faith in transubstantiation, in the intercession of saints, in the necessity and holiness of celibacy, and whatever else he believed; nor that he had never thought of laying a violent hand on the hierarchical constitution of the church, which he would clear only from foreign ingredients. He received sentence of excommunication and interdict in its most terrible form. He must be delivered up. The Bethlehem church must be razed to the ground, and in no place that offered him a refuge must the sacrament be administered or Christian burial bestowed.

At the earnest entreaty of the king, who foresaw that Huss's persecution would cause serious disturbance in the land, the latter, after he had first appealed from the Romish See to Christ, his great High Priest, voluntarily banished himself from Prague and his flock. Shelter and protection were given him heartily by the knights in their castles. Thence he unremittingly cheered his people and fellow-believers, in glorious Christian letters, along the pathway of truth. Meanwhile approached November of the year 1414, when was convoked, by pope John Twenty-

third and the emperor Sigismund, a general council at Constance, "for the restoration of the church's unity, and her reformation in head and members." Here the proceedings against Huss must needs come to an issue. Under the protection of a safe-conduct from the emperor, which assured him secure escort there and back, Huss, on October 11th of that year, courageously set out for Constance. In his answer to the emperor he said, among other things, "I will humbly venture my life under the protection of the safe-conduct of your majesty, and with the aid of the Most High will appear at the council." Huss had for companions the faithful knights Wenzel of Duba and John of Chlum, as also the latter's secretary and the deputy of Prague University, the pastor, John Cardinal of Reinstein, all thoroughly in sympathy with him. His journey through Germany was, in places, like a triumphal march, for there were not wanting thousands among the people who with patient waiting longed for a reformation of the church. On November 3d he reached his destination. His bitterest opponents in Bohemia had preceded him; with the rest, Palec, who, directly after his arrival, in a paper pasted on the church doors, had denounced Huss as the most stubborn of heretics. During the first four weeks nothing was done in our friend's affairs. He thus had ample time to prepare for his approaching examination. On November 28th he was suddenly deprived of his liberty, by order of the pope, in the face of a protest, made by the knight of Chlum, and based on the imperial safe-conduct. Soon after he was hurried away to a Dominican monastery on the bank of the Rhine, and thrown into a disgusting cell, close to a sewer, and filled with poisonous odors. At the intercession of the knight of Chlum, the emperor indignantly demanded the liberation of his ward, but in vain. So great was his dread of the church power that he failed to persist in his demand. When the poor prisoner fell seriously ill, a somewhat more airy room in the convent was assigned him. He was again taken ill, but met with little consideration from his adversaries. They intruded themselves upon him almost daily, and visited him with the sharpest reproaches.

On March 21, 1415, pope John fled to escape the indictment against him for his disreputable life. Huss lost, at that time, his jailer, who had actually grown fond of him, and tended him faithfully. His daily supplies were interrupted. He feared that the pope's seneschal, who was with his master at Schaffhausen, purposed to take him with him. He hastened to communicate his anxiety to Von Chlum, who again appealed to the emperor on behalf of his friend. After advising with his council, Sigismund came to no better resolve than to give the prisoner into the hands of the bishop of Constance. By him, Huss was taken to the castle of Gottlieben, and thrown into a dungeon, where he was so chained up by day that he could scarcely move, and by night in bed was tied to a post by his hands. "Now," he writes to a friend, "I begin

Huss goes to
Constance.

truly to understand the Psalms, truly to pray, truly to realize the sufferings of Christ and the martyrs; as saith the prophet Esaias, 'Vexation shall make you understand doctrine.'" After the 1st of June he was taken from his gloomy cell, where he gave place to pope John, who by this time was deposed, and carried back to Constance and confined in the Franciscan monastery. Here he underwent his first His trial by the council. examination before the assembled council. His writings were brought against him, and out of them a list of charges presented. With steadfast appeal to God's Word and the church's teachings, he made a thorough and comprehensive reply. His opponents, having no answer, raised only a wild uproar. They accepted it as a happy escape from a difficult situation, when the motion was made to adjourn the session because order could not be restored, and to appoint a second hearing on the 7th of the same month.

The 7th of June arrived. Sigismund was present in person at the council. Huss's faithful friends, the Bohemian knights, were present also. The first subject was transubstantiation. Huss could with justice call all present to witness that he had ever taught this doctrine. He had laid great stress upon worthily partaking of the sacrament. He was then accused of having disseminated the errors of Wiclif. With a good conscience he could assert, "I have not taught the errors of Wiclif, or of any other. If Wiclif taught errors in England, that is the affair of England, not ours." He was further charged with having appealed from the judgment of the pope to that of Christ. Huss gladly acknowledged this. He added that there could be no more just or effectual appeal than to Him who one day would pass final judgment on us all. The assembly met this saying with derisive laughter. Finally, in accordance with Romish tactics, Huss was made an object of political suspicion, as a popular agitator and a revolutionist. It cost him little trouble to clear himself of this charge. "But did I not hear you say," exclaimed cardinal D'Ailly, with a loud voice, that his remark might reach the ear of the emperor, "that had you not chosen to come to Constance, neither king nor emperor could have forced you to do so." Huss replied, "I said that had I not wished to come hither, I might easily have remained concealed in a safe retreat, for so many knights, kindly disposed towards me, had declared themselves ready to shelter me within the walls of their castles." "Behold the audacity of the man," screamed the cardinal; and a murmur of displeasure was heard through the assembly. Whereupon the noble knight of Chlum rose, confirmed Huss's assertion, and bore the brunt for him bravely. This occurrence, however, made an unfavorable impression upon the emperor. Addressing the council, Sigismund thanked the prelates for making good their promise to Huss, that he should freely defend himself before the council, adding that in the opinion of many the emperor was by no means just-

fied in taking under his protection a heretic or one suspected of heresy. He therefore would strongly advise Huss that he should maintain nothing stubbornly, but submit himself with due obedience to the authority of the council on all those points that had been urged against him, and proven by trusty witnesses. If not, the leaders of the council knew well what to do with him. Nor would he, the emperor, take an errorist into his protection, but would rather, with that hand of his, prepare the funeral pile, than allow him stubbornly to continue as hitherto. Whereat Huss, thanking the emperor first for the safe-conduct pledged him, said, "I call God to witness that it was never in my thought to maintain aught with stubbornness, but that I came hither voluntarily, with the resolve unhesitatingly to change my opinion, if I were taught anything better." Huss was then given over to the care of the bishop of Riga, and led back to his prison.

On the 8th of June, Huss was for the third time cited before the council, and if possible more severely harassed than before. His third hearing. Especial offense seems to have been taken at his remark, in one of his works, that a king, pope, or bishop, living in mortal sin, ceased to be a king, pope, or bishop. They interpreted this assertion as if he would make it depend on the character of the holders of offices and dignities, whether they should be tolerated in them or not. The emperor was greatly irritated at the expression. "There is no man without sin," he cried, with a tone and look of deep displeasure. Huss replied that he had never expected that what he had spoken in an interrogative way would be taken didactically or legally. He simply wished to express what his ideal was of a true king, pope, or bishop. His vindication was rejected with scorn. The celebrated chancellor of the University of Paris, the renowned jurist, Gerson, was especially severe upon the prisoner, taking his stand on the letter of the ecclesiastical law. Remarking that he could not engage in the investigation of the sense in which Huss had intended this or that, he expressed the opinion, with significant look, that when errors leading to the overthrow of all civil order were proclaimed, as by Huss, nothing was left save that the secular power should reflect that it did not bear the sword in vain. The invitation was renewed to Huss to recant and submit to the judgment of the council. He replied that he could not recant what he had never taught; and what he had taught could neither from Scripture nor from the church's teachings be proven erroneous. Thoroughly exhausted by these fruitless discussions, in which he was obliged to listen to the repetition of the same charges, and to hear his complete refutations treated with laughter and derision, he at last, in imitation of his Lord and Master, answered nothing, and was led back to prison. At this instant the high-spirited knight of Chlum pressed up to him, and greeted him. Profoundly moved by the prophet-like bearing of the man he loved, as well

as by his admirable defense, he pressed his hand in a way that said more than words could have done. "Oh, what joy," wrote Huss soon after to his friends, "did this pressure of the hand from Sir John give me: for he did not shun to extend his hand to me in my fetters, me pitiable, me rejected and abandoned as a heretic by all."

After Huss knew that the emperor was fully set against him, he could not disguise from himself that he had to expect every day and hour his death sentence. His letters, penned at this time to his kinsmen in belief, breathe the most childlike resignation, and brave, glad, constant faith. Wishing to confess before leaving the world, he asked that his bitterest foe, Palee, or some other, might be his confessor. A doctor of theology, a monk, was sent him, who, after listening to his confession, with emotion and deep compassion, unhesitatingly granted him full and unconditional absolution, though Huss was constrained to refuse his well meant entreaties to him to recant.

The 9th of July, Huss was again led before the council. The assembly presented a more solemn aspect than ever before. The emperor, arrayed in his imperial insignia, and surrounded by his ^{his fourth and} ^{last hearing.} princes, sat upon the throne. In the centre of the hall was a pillar from which hung priestly garments which Huss was to put on previous to the act of degradation. Once more the accusation against him was read; he was declared Wiclif's disciple. He attempted to speak, but was peremptorily commanded to be silent. He sank upon his knees, and prayed: "O Lord Christ, whose Word is openly despised by this council, I appeal once more unto Thee, as Thou, when afflicted by thine enemies, appealest unto thy Father, and consignedst thy cause to the Righteous Judge, that we, when oppressed by wrong, might follow thine example, and take refuge with Thee." He made reply to a charge against him that he had said mass while under excommunication. He added an allusion to the safe-conduct given him, and fixed his gaze upon the emperor. A deep blush reddened the face of Sigismund. When sentence was finally passed upon him, he prayed, kneeling down: "O Lord Christ, forgive mine adversaries. Thou knowest that I have been accused falsely by them; and that lying witnesses and calumnies have been brought against me. Forgive them for thy great mercy's sake." This honest outburst of love to his enemies was met by the loud derision of many in the assembly. The act of deposing him from clerical office was then inaugurated, seven bishops taking part. They first clad him in priestly robes. There came to him the image of his Saviour in the purple robe and the crown of thorns. They asked him once more to recant. "How can I recant," he replied, "when I am innocent?" They stripped off his body the several parts of his vestments with forms of imprecations. At the words, "We deprive thee, thou accursed Judas, of the cup of salvation," as they took the chalice from his hands, he exclaimed, "My trust is in

God my Father, and in my Lord Jesus Christ, that He will not take this cup of salvation from me. I hope, indeed, to drink it this day, with Him, in his kingdom." When the cap painted over with devils and inscribed "Heresiarch"—arch heretic—was put on his brow, he murmured, "My Lord Jesus wore for my sake a crown of thorns; shall I not wear this lighter disgrace for the sake of Him? I will, indeed, and that right gladly." "And thus we deliver thy soul unto Satan," continued the bishops. "And I," said he, with eyes turned to heaven, "commit into thy hands, Lord Jesus Christ, the soul Thou hast redeemed."

Huss was now, as one cut off from the church, given over to the secular power. By the emperor's order he was delivered, by duke Ludwig of Bavaria, to the officers of justice. When he was led by Led to the stake. them past the church doors, to see his books burned, he could not withhold a pitying smile. Reaching the place of execution, he kneeled down and uttered several Psalms, and with especial emphasis the fifty-first and thirty-first. Repeatedly he uttered the words, "Into thine hands I commit my spirit." "What has he done?" the assembled multitude was heard asking; "he speaks and prays so fervently!" Bidden stand up from prayer, by the executioner, he cried with strong voice, "Lord Jesus Christ, stand now by me, that by thine help I may endure with manful, steadfast soul this cruel and shameful death to which I am condemned because I preached thy Word." Having heartily thanked his jailers for their kind treatment, and once more witnessed to the people that he suffered death for nothing save preaching the pure Word of God, he ascended the funeral pile with heroic composure, and gently as a lamb submitted to the chaining of his neck and body to the stake, saying, "Gladly do I bear these chains for Christ's sake, who hath borne a far heavier burden for me." At this instant, the lord marshal, Von Pappenheim, galloped up to him, and held out a sure promise of pardon and safety if he would recant. "What errors can I recant, when I am conscious of no error? The things falsely charged against me I know well never entered my thoughts, much less were preached by me. The great object of my teaching, repentance and forgiveness of sins to mankind, according to the true gospel of Jesus Christ and the interpretations of the Holy Fathers, I am ready to die for, with joyful heart." The fagots were set on fire. Huss began, with clear voice, singing, "Jesus, thou Son of the living God, have mercy upon me." For the third time he opened his lips, with this ejaculation, when the flames, blown in by the wind, choked his voice. But his lips were for a long time seen moving in prayer. At last his head sank; in peace he entered the church triumphant. The revengeful hate of the demon-inspired priesthood was not yet cooled: they took the ashes of the immolated martyr and threw them into the Rhine waters, that nothing should be left of him to contaminate.

Thus quitted the battle-field the man of whom, a century afterwards, it was well said by him who in Germany completed the work, "Out of John Huss's blood, the gospel we now have was born." His murderers did not escape God's anger. The Bohemians, accursed by the great of earth, rose against them as one man. The emperor went down to his grave in shame and disquiet, the last of his race.

The true title of Huss is Zealot for the Law, rather than Evangelist, in the full sense of the word. His ministry would have certainly proven more extensive, more thorough and lasting, had the chief glory of the gospel, the sinner's justification by God's grace alone, through faith in Christ, shone upon him as upon us, — which was not the case. One layeth the foundation, another buildeth thereupon. The credit surely belongs to him of preparing the way of the German Reformation. Many a prophetic word of his can be interpreted of that movement and of its Corypheus. A three-fold resurrection is already his. He is to-day at the throne of God, adorned with martyr-crown, and bearing the victorious palm. His spirit entered the lists a second time, for the defense of eternal truth, in Luther, his great and victorious successor, so much better instructed and enlightened; and to-day his image lives, not merely in the hearts who are true to the banner of God's kingdom, but — vivid and imperishable, a grain of corn that shall yet bring rich harvests — in the souls of his own Bohemians. — F. W. K.

LIFE XIV. JEROME SAVONAROLA.

A. D. 1452—A. D. 1498. CLERICAL LEADER, — ITALY.

ONCE the Roman church in her might undertook to rule states and subdue princes. No wonder, then, if reforming spirits, who knew what she was, and what a true church was, were tempted to treat her as a mere political mechanism.

Jerome Savonarola, born in Ferrara September 21, 1452, was destined to a grand worldly career by his grandfather, who was a physician in high esteem at the Padua University and the court of the duke of Este. But the youth ran away from home, and wrote back from Bologna that he was become a Dominican. He had chosen poverty for his bride. He had sacrificed his body to save his immortal soul. His father must comfort his mother. Both of them must send a blessing, and he would ever pray for their welfare. His reason for all this, he stated, was the depravity of the world, and especially of Italy. "There is nothing left for us but to weep and to hope for better things yonder." The mendicant Dominicans had then a good share of the church's riches and honors. Savonarola, however, preferred to work, stitching cowls, making

garden, or the like; for he did not dream of simply exchanging a high place in the world for a high place in a cloister. For fourteen years he led this quiet convent life, pursuing theological studies at the command of his superiors, and at times preaching during the season of Lent. He was then sent to Florence, to the convent of Mark, to teach its younger members.

Florence was at that time a busy, flourishing city, master of nearly all Central Italy. Her government for centuries had, by law, been republican, with magistrates chosen by lot. But the merchant family of the Medici, through their boundless and well-managed wealth, were now in power. The head of the family, Lorenzo the Magnificent, successor to his grandfather, ruled despotically, surrounding himself with all the splendors of art and learning.

Savonarola began on the 1st of August, 1489, to give expositions of the book of Revelation in the church of the convent. He was well versed in the Old Testament prophets, and devoted to the study of the future. His leading thought was, God's church must be regenerated; but first Italy must be sorely chastened by God; both events must soon come to pass. The church reform which he looked for was to be moral and religious. Church offices were to be restored to the primitive pattern. The poor were to have relief from the church's superfluous riches. All must repent, and the whole community submit to the rule of the Spirit. Propheying of reformation, he preached also repentance. He had no thought of overthrowing any church dogma. Yet studying profoundly the Scriptures, he preached that they took us, not to the priests, but to Christ; that unless Christ absolves us, other absolution is nothing; works can save no one, but only a believing surrender of the heart to the Saviour. He has told us that when he preached his subtle doctrines of human invention, he pleased an impatient and fickle people, but when he turned to the Bible he shook men's souls. Full of glowing faith in the church's reformation, he amazed himself by his new power of thought and language. Soon the convent chapel was too small. Galleries had to be erected in the wide aisles of the cathedral to accommodate the masses of people that came on Sundays, even from the mountains, to obtain the bread of life.

After a year in Florence, Savonarola was made prior of his convent. He was put in mind of the old custom of commending himself and his cloister to the prince. He replied, "Has God, or has Lorenzo, elected me to this office? Let us commend our convent to the grace of the Almighty!" A sum of money had been sent the cloister from Lorenzo. Opening the treasury, Savonarola separated the small coins from the gold, saying to his monks, "These will answer our needs; carry the gold to the poor-masters of the city, that they may distribute it." His pulpit censures were addressed not infrequently to Lorenzo. For the palace

was the fountain of the worldliness and godlessness that deluged the city. When worthy citizens advised him to cease this inconsiderate style of preaching, for the peace of the city and the good of the convent, he answered that he preached against vice, as was done in the church of old. "Tell Lorenzo to change *his* ways." When the possibility of his banishment was hinted, he replied, "What is that to me? But let Lorenzo know, that though he be the first citizen in the state, and I a foreigner and a poor monk, it is I who shall remain, while he must flee away!"

The saying was speedily fulfilled, though not as it was meant. Lorenzo came to his death-bed; with many a wrong deed troubling his soul, he sent for the prior of Mark's convent, for he had never seen as true a monk as he. Through him he sought God's mercy. Savonarola laid down three conditions on which he could promise him that his sins would be forgiven. First, if he had living faith, God would forgive him. Lorenzo answered, "I do believe." Second, he must restore all unjust gains; his children would still have as much as beseeemed citizens to possess. Lorenzo, after reflection, said, "Even this I will do." Finally, he must restore the freedom of Florence and the national constitution. Lorenzo turned away. Savonarola quitted his presence.

On Lorenzo's death, his eldest son Pietro inherited his father's power, but not his wisdom, by which he had maintained the semblance of a free government. Savonarola preached the judgment of God in Italy, saying, "The Lord's sword shall come, and that quickly." He foretold the coming over the mountains of a mighty king to chastise the tyrants of Italy, and reform the church by his sword. This was in a time of profound peace, yet in the summer of 1494 the king of France (Charles Eighth) and a great army marched over the Alps to seize Naples as his patrimony and to subdue Italy. Everything in Italy was unsettled by his invasion. Florence rose and drove out her young prince. Savonarola, heading an embassy to Charles, hailed him as a king sent of God to regenerate Italy and the church. He should put down the mighty from their seats, and exalt them of low degree. Serving a higher end than worldly conquest, he must show mercy, especially to Florence: then He who on the cross conquered for his sake would grant him the victory. The king received the monk as a prophet, and left the Florentines to direct their own affairs. Savonarola summoned the people to the cathedral. He spoke highly of monarchy, but held that Florence's condition demanded popular government. God only ought to be king in Florence, as He was in Israel. Had He not said to Samuel, when they wanted an earthly king, "Hath this people then rejected me?" The Florentines had hesitated between the aggressions of a single ruler and the excesses of a mob. Now the state should be a theocracy, through the fear of God and the common consent. In

Is the leader of
Florence.

this spirit the republic was instituted, and the supreme power reposed in an assembly of the citizens. The magistrates were to be chosen from it by the ballot and the lot, in a monthly rotation.

Savonarola took no part in the details of the government, for he did not understand them. Yet he was depended on for advice. His contemporaries who least agreed with him speak wonderingly of his moral influence. Ill-gotten gain was given up. Mortal foes embraced one another. A mighty love of their fatherland, both the earthly and the heavenly, possessed men's minds. Gaming and dancing were at an end. National airs and love ditties hushed. Religious songs only were sung. At Shrove-tide the people came freely, giving up worldly things, cards, dice, women's ornaments, lewd books and pictures (among the latter some of great value as works of art), and with solemn pomp committed them to the flames.

Savonarola, from a prophet of reformation, became a reformer, yet in the mediæval way. He enforced cloister rules, and since his building was too showy and worldly, and new apartments were needed for those entering, he began a new convent of Mark's, as humble as the stable of Bethlehem. The only earthly goods he prized, his books and pictures of saints, he gave away. Regarding Florence as God's altar whence the holy flame of the church's regeneration should go forth, he was constrained to preach against the degenerate priesthood, and first against the new Babylon, where the worst pope ever known, Alexander Sixth, was now ruling. Savonarola wrote the western monarchs that in place of revering the crime and disease which sat in Peter's chair, which was no priest, nor even a Christian, nor a believer in a God, they should assemble a council to reform the church in its head and its members. The French king seemed inclined to accede. One of Savonarola's letters

is fallen upon
by Rome. falling, however, into the hands of the pope, the latter gave this order (October, 1496): "Savonarola, who predicts future things, and thus creates dissensions, who without the church's authorization declares he is sent of God and holds converse with God, shall, under pain of excommunication, refrain from preaching till the completion of an inquiry which is now instituted against him."

Savonarola replied that the knowledge of future things was not forbidden. God speaks to whom He pleases. Yet he had never announced himself a prophet. Could it be shown that he was wrong, he would retract obediently. But in truth the holy father should delay no longer to attend to his own soul. For a while Savonarola ceased preaching; then he resumed, for the pulpit was his throne. But his influence was in danger. Worldly taste and pleasure, restrained by him, raged against this silly rule of a monk. The adherents of the banished prince took courage. All Italy except Florence had united against Charles and driven him out. That city, left alone, stood by France, to the grief of the

Italians. The Franciscans in Florence reproached the Dominicans, whom they envied, saying, A soldier of Christ should not mix himself with worldly business. The pope, hearing of the change of opinion, at once pronounced that Savonarola, as a withered branch, was cut off from the tree of the church for stubborn disobedience and suspected heresy. The latter declared the excommunication void, appealing from the earthly master to the heavenly, even to Christ. Yet he saw his downfall approaching: "For the Master who holds the hammer, when He has used it, throws it down. So He did with Jeremiah, whom He suffered to be stoned when he had finished his preaching. But Rome will never quench this flame; and were this quenched, God would kindle another; nay, already it is kindled, could they but see it." Soon the superstitiously excited populace found a need of choosing between their prophet and the ancient church power, still so revered. Public worship in the city, it was threatened, should cease, if the excommunicated preacher were not renounced. While the crowd remained undecided, Savonarola was challenged by a Franciscan monk to undergo the ordeal by fire. One or both of them should perish; Savonarola certainly should die unless he could confirm his prophecies by a miraculous escape. The latter said it was a tempting of God; but having so often asserted that God would, if necessary, confirm the truth by miracle, and lead him unhurt through the fire, he could not resist the popular urgency. For his comrades, and even women and maidens by scores, were ready to endure the ordeal in his stead. The appeal to God, it was agreed, should be made by two monks, who offered themselves to represent their orders. The Dominican agreed, according to a legally prepared contract, to establish by his miraculous preservation the following articles: The church needs reformation; she shall be sorely tried, but after her trial shall flourish; the unbelieving shall be converted; Florence shall be sorely tried, but after her trial shall again flourish; all this shall come to pass in our times; the excommunication of Savonarola is void; whoever disregards it commits no sin. The two champions were to follow each other down a narrow lane between two long burning piles of fagots. When the hour came, the people in greatest suspense awaited the issue. Both monks, possibly, were afraid of the fire. The Franciscans may have reckoned upon making an issue upon the question how the champions should go through the flames; in what magical monkish garment; whether with the crucifix or the consecrated wafer. At all events, both parties raised so many difficulties that the dispute consumed hour after hour. Finally at nightfall came a torrent of rain, and the magistrates ordered both sides to go home. The whole displeasure of the disappointed throng, who expected a miracle or a fearful spectacle, fell on Savonarola's company, for they were the party that had promised something miraculous. From that day the crowd forsook their prophet. He was jeered at on his way

home. The next night (Palm Sunday) Mark's church was attacked, Savonarola taken prisoner, and the government seized by his bitterest foes. Confessions of his were recited in public, which made his prophesying to be not of divine suggestion, but from reason and the Scripture, and his only object to be worldly fame and power. Seven times that week (Passion Week) he was stretched on the rack. When he retracted his confessions as forced from him, he had new tortures held over him.

The final decision was delayed, inasmuch as the pope intended sending a commission to investigate. In his prison Savonarola wrote an exposition of the fifty-first Psalm. It is the utterance of a wounded spirit crying to God, accusing itself of pride in its mighty achievements, bearing the woes of its fellows, and at length finding peace in the crucified. Luther, who had this little book republished, says, "This is a model of evangelical doctrine and Christian piety, for here thou seest him go not as a preaching monk relying on his vows, his monk's cowl, the mass, or the good deeds of his order, but in trust on God's mercy, just like an ordinary believer."

Savonarola was judged by the papal legate to be guilty of heresy; by the civil power, of general misdemeanor. Two monks were sentenced with him. When the morning of execution came (May 23, 1498), he partook with his comrades of the Lord's Supper. He bade them suffer death in silence, like Christ, who, though so much holier than they, went as a lamb to the slaughter, and opened not his mouth. Of himself he simply said, "My Lord died for my sins; shall not I gladly give this poor life for Him?" He was hanged between his two companions, his body burned on the gallows, and the ashes cast into the Arno.

The traces of his work soon disappeared. His failure was owing not only to his joining revolution with reformation, but to his coming before his time. He was, according to his own definition of himself, a fore-runner and a sacrifice. His memory remains precious to Florence and to his order. Luther writes in his preface to the book already named, "Antichrist then hoped that this great man's memory would disappear and be accursed; but, lo, he lives and his memory is blessed. Christ pronounces him holy, through our lips, even though popes and papists should burst with wrath at the suggestion!" — K. H.

APPENDIX.

I.

ROLL OF WRITERS OF THE LIVES OF THE LEADERS OF OUR CHURCH UNIVERSAL.

EUROPEAN WRITERS.

| | | |
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| F. A. | The Rev. Dr. F. AHLFELD, Pastor in Leipzig | <i>John Williams.</i> |
| F. A. | The Rev. Dr. FRIEDRICH ARNDT, Pastor in Berlin | <i>Anna Askew.</i> |
| C. B. | The Rev. Dr. C. BECKER, Pastor in Königsberg | <i>Wishart.</i> |
| C. B. | The Rev. Dr. C. BINDEMANN, Church Superintendent in Grimmen | <i>Monica, Augustine.</i> |
| B. | The Rev. Dr. BOUTERWEK, Director of Gymnasium, Elberfeld | <i>Columba, Aidan.</i> |
| C. F. B. | The Rev. J. C. F. BURK, Pastor in Echterdingen | <i>Bengel.</i> |
| D. E. | The Rev. Dr. DAVID ERDMANN, Church General Superintendent, Breslau | <i>Baxter.</i> |
| A. E. F. | The Rev. Dr. A. E. FRÖHLICH, Professor, Aarau, Switzerland | <i>Zwingle, Laborie.</i> |
| K. F. | The Rev. Dr. K. FROMMANN, Church General Superintendent in Petersburg | <i>Zeisberger.</i> |
| K. R. II. | The Rev. Dr. K. R. HAGENBACH, Professor of Theology, Basel, Switzerland | <i>Clement, Athanasius, Ecolompadius, Renata, Beza.</i> |
| J. II. | The Rev. J. HARTMANN, Dean in Tuttlingen | <i>Brenz.</i> |
| K. II. | The Rev. Dr. K. HASE, Professor of Theology in Jena | <i>Savonarola.</i> |
| F. R. H. | The Rev. Dr. F. R. HASSE, Professor of Theology in Bonn | <i>Anselm.</i> |
| F. H. | The Rev. Dr. FRED. HAUT, Pastor in Grodan | <i>Hildegard.</i> |
| P. II. | The Rev. Dr. P. HENRY, Pastor in Berlin | <i>Calvin.</i> |
| II. II. | The Rev. Dr. II. HEPPE, Professor of Theology in Marburg, Cranmer, Hooper, William of Orange | |
| L. H. | The Rev. Dr. L. HEUBNER, Director of Seminary, Wittenberg | <i>Luther.</i> |
| W. II. | The Rev. Dr. WILHELM HOFFMANN, Church General Superintendent, Berlin | <i>John of Monte Corvino.</i> |
| H. | The Rev. Dr. HUNDESHAGEN, Professor of Theology in Bonn | <i>Ursinus.</i> |
| C. II. K. | The Rev. Dr. CHRISTIAN II. KALKAR, Pastor in Copenhagen | <i>Egede.</i> |
| C. F. K. | The Rev. Dr. CHR. FR. KLING, Dean in Marbach | <i>Origen.</i> |
| F. W. K. | The Rev. Dr. FRED. W. KRUMMACHER, Court Preacher in Potsdam | <i>Lawrence, Chrysostom, Huss, Gerhardt, Oberlin.</i> |
| G. L. | The Rev. Dr. GOTTHARD LECHLER, Professor of Theology in Leipzig | <i>Bede, Wiclif, Oldcastle, Ridley.</i> |
| H. L. | The Rev. Dr. H. LEO, Professor of Philosophy in Halle | <i>Patrick.</i> |
| P. L. | The Rev. Dr. PETER LORIMER, Professor in Presbyterian College, London | <i>Hamilton.</i> |
| F. L. | The Rev. Dr. FRED. LÜBKER, Director of Gymnasium in Flensburg | <i>Columban, Boniface, Alfred.</i> |

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| T. M. | The Rev. Dr. THOMAS MACCREE, Professor in Presbyterian College, London | <i>John Knox.</i> |
| H. F. M. | Dr. H. F. MASSMANN, Professor of Philosophy in Berlin | <i>Ulfilas.</i> |
| H. V. M. | The Rev. H. VON MERZ, Church Prelate in Stuttgart, <i>Roussel, Schwartz, Martyn, Wilberforce, Fry.</i> | |
| C. B. M. | C. B. MOLL, Church General Superintendent, Königsberg | <i>Wessel.</i> |
| A. M. | The Rev. ADOLF MONOD, Pastor in Paris, France | <i>Blundin.</i> |
| A. N. | The Rev. Dr. AUGUST NEANDER, Professor of Theology in Berlin | <i>Bernard, Aquinas, Melancthon.</i> |
| E. N. | E. NOELDECHEN, Head Teacher, Magdeburg | <i>Claudius.</i> |
| J. J. V'O. | The Rev. Dr. J. J. VAN OOSTERZEE, Professor of Theology in Utrecht | <i>Thomas à Kempis.</i> |
| J. C. T. O. | The Rev. Dr. J. C. T. OTTO, Professor of Theology in Vienna | <i>Cyril.</i> |
| R. P. | Dr. REINHOLD PAULI, Professor of Philosophy in Göttingen, <i>Alfred the Great.</i> | |
| F. P. | The Rev. Dr. FERDINAND PIPER, Professor of Theology, Berlin | <i>Polycarp.</i> |
| T. P. | The Rev. Dr. T. PRESSEL, Dean in Schorndorf | <i>Rabaut.</i> |
| F. R. | The Rev. Dr. F. RANKE, Director of Gymnasium, Berlin, <i>Perpetua, Hans Sachs, Peterson.</i> | |
| A. R. | The Rev. A. RISCHE, Pastor in Schwinkendorf | <i>King Louis.</i> |
| L. R. | The Rev. LOUIS ROGNON, Pastor in Paris | <i>Coligny.</i> |
| J. D. R. | The Rev. J. D. ROTHMUND, Pastor in St. Gall | <i>Gull.</i> |
| K. G. R. | The Rev. K. G. VON RUDLOFF, Cathedral Preacher in Nisky, <i>Guthrie, MacKail.</i> | |
| K. H. S. | The Rev. Dr. K. H. SACK, Chief Consistory Councilor, Bonn, <i>John Wesley.</i> | |
| C. S. | The Rev. Dr. C. SCHMIDT, Professor of Theology in Strassburg, <i>Remy, Tauler.</i> | |
| H. E. S. | The Rev. Dr. H. E. SCHMIEDER, Director of Seminary, Wittenberg . <i>Paphnutius, Spiridion, Jerome, Austin, Waldo, Magdalena Luther, Paleario, Zinzendorf.</i> | |
| K. S. | The Rev. Dr. K. SEMISCH, Professor of Theology in Berlin, <i>Ignatius, Justin, Irenaeus.</i> | |
| C. W. S. | The Rev. Dr. C. W. STARSTEDT, Professor of Theology in Lund, Sweden | <i>Ansgar.</i> |
| A. T. | The Rev. Dr. AUGUST THOLUCK, Professor of Theology in Halle | <i>Spener, Francke.</i> |
| F. T. | The Rev. F. TRECHSEL, Pastor in Berne, Switzerland | <i>Farel.</i> |
| J. O. V. | The Rev. J. O. VAHINGER, Cathedral Preacher in Cannstadt, <i>Gustavus Adolphus.</i> | |
| L. W. | The Rev. L. WIESE, Church Counselor in Berlin | <i>Cyprian.</i> |

AMERICAN WRITERS.

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|----------|---|---|
| H. C. A. | The Rev. Dr. H. C. ALEXANDER, Professor in Union Theological Seminary, Hampden-Sidney, Va. | <i>Alexander.</i> |
| R. B. | The Rev. Dr. ROBERT BEARD, Professor in Theological Seminary, Lebanon, Tenn. | <i>Donnell.</i> |
| C. W. B. | The Rev. Dr. C. W. BENNETT, Professor in Theological Department of Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. | <i>Fisk.</i> |
| W. M. B. | The Rev. Dr. W. M. BLACKBURN, Professor in Theological Seminary of Northwest, Chicago, Ill. | <i>Makemie, Dickinson, Witherspoon.</i> |
| A. L. B. | The Rev. A. L. BLACKFORD, Missionary in Brazil, Rio de Janeiro | <i>Simonton.</i> |
| S. L. C. | The Rev. Dr. S. L. CALDWELL, President of Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. | <i>Manning.</i> |
| R. W. C. | The Rev. Dr. RUFUS W. CLARK, Pastor in Albany, N. Y. | <i>Livingston.</i> |
| H. F. C. | Mrs. HELEN FINNEY COX, Cincinnati, O. | <i>Finney.</i> |
| T. D. | The Rev. Dr. TIMOTHY DWIGHT, Professor in Theological School, Yale College, New Haven, Conn. | <i>Dwight.</i> |

- J. H. G. The Rev. Dr. J. H. GOODE, Professor in Theological Department, Heidelberg College, Tiffin, O. *Schlatter.*
- L. G. The Rev. Dr. LEWIS GROUT, late Missionary to South Africa, W. Brattleboro, Vt. *Vanderkemp.*
- A. A. H. The Rev. Dr. ARCH. A. HODGE, Professor in Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. *Hodge.*
- S. H. The Rev. Dr. SAMUEL HOPKINS, Professor in Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y. *Brewster, Hopkins.*
- Z. H. The Rev. Dr. ZEPHANIAH HUMPHREYS, Professor in Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, O. *Edwards.*
- J. B. J. The Rev. Dr. J. B. JETER, Editor of the *Religious Herald*, Richmond, Va. *Fuller.*
- H. J. The Rev. Dr. HERRICK JOHNSON, Professor in Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y. *Barnes.*
- H. K. Mrs. HELEN KENDRICK, Rochester, N. Y. *Judson.*
- H. L. The Rev. Dr. HEMAN LINCOLN, Professor in Theological Seminary, Newton Centre, Mass. *Wayland.*
- H. M. M. The Rev. Dr. HENRY M. MACCRACKEN, Pastor in Toledo, O.,
Isabella Graham.
- J. M. P. The Rev. Dr. J. M. PENDLETON, Pastor in Upland, Pa. *Peck.*
- W. K. P. The Rev. Dr. W. K. PENDLETON, President of Bethany College, Bethany, W. Va. *Campbell.*
- B. F. P. The Rev. B. F. PRINCE, Professor in Wittenberg College, Springfield, O. *Mühlenberg.*
- W. B. S. The Rev. Dr. W. BACON STEVENS, Bishop of the Pennsylvania Diocese of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Philadelphia *White.*
- H. B. S. Mrs. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, Hartford, Conn. *Lyman Beecher.*
- T. O. S. The Rev. Dr. THOMAS O. SUMMERS, Professor of Theology in Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. *MacKendree.*
- J. W. The Rev. Dr. J. WEAVER, Bishop of the United Brethren, Dayton, O. *Otterbein.*
- T. W. The Rev. Dr. THOMAS WEBSTER, Pastor in Newbury, Canada, *Asbury, Ryan.*
- S. W. W. The Hon. S. WELLS WILLIAMS, LL. D., Professor of Chinese Literature, Yale College, New Haven, Conn. *Morrison.*
- R. Y. The Rev. R. YEAKEL, Bishop of the Evangelical Association, Naperville, Ill. *Albright.*

II.

COMPLETE ROLL OF LIVES.¹

| JANUARY. | FEBRUARY. | MARCH. |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| | A. D. | A. D. |
| 1. New Year | 1. IGNATIUS | 1. Suidbert |
| 2. Martyrs of the Books 303 | 2. Mary [Purification] Bible | 2. JOHN WES- |
| 3. Gordius, Martyr 303 | 3. ANSGAR 865 | LEY 1791 |
| 4. Titus Bible | 4. Rabanus Maurus 856 | 3. Balthilde 680 |
| 5. Simeon Bible | 5. SPENER 1705 | 4. WISHART 1546 |
| 6. Christ and Wise | 6. Amandus 679 | 5. AQUINAS 1274 |
| Men Bible | 7. Geo. Wagner 1527 | 6. Fridolin 514 |
| 7. Widukind 785 | 8. Mary Andreä 1632 | 7. PERPETUA 202 |
| 8. Severinus 482 | 9. HOOPER 1555 | 8. URSINUS 1583 |
| 9. Catharine Zell 1562 | 10. Oetinger 1782 | 9. CYRIL 869 |
| 10. Paul the Hermit 340 | 11. Hugo St. Victor 1142 | 10. Martyrs in Armenia 320 |
| 11. Fructuosus 259 | 12. Jane Grey 1554 | 11. Hoseus 1566 |
| 12. John Chastellain 1525 | 13. SCHWARTZ 1798 | 12. Gregory 604 |
| 13. Hilary of France 368 | 14. Bruno 1008 | 13. Roderick 857 |
| 14. Felix 256 | 15. Von Loh 1561 | 14. Matilda 968 |
| 15. John Laski 1560 | 16. Desubas 1746 | 15. CRANMER 1556 |
| 16. Geo. Spalatin 1545 | 17. HAMILTON 1528 | 16. Heribert 968 |
| 17. Antony the Hermit 356 | 18. SYMEON 107 | 17. PATRICK 460 |
| 18. Jno. Blackader 1686 | 19. Mesrob 441 | 18. Alexander 251 |
| 19. { Babylas 250 | 20. Sadoth 346 | 19. Mary and Martha Bible |
| { Isabella 1526 | 21. Meinrad 863 | 20. Ambrose of Siena 1287 |
| { Fabian 250 | 22. Didymus 395 | 21. Benedict 543 |
| 20. { Sebastian 304 | 23. Ziegenbalg 1719 | 22. Nicolas the Hermit 1488 |
| 21. Agnes 304 | 24. Matthew Bible | 23. Wolfgang 1566 |
| 22. Vincentius 304 | 25. Olevian 1587 | 24. Florentius 1400 |
| 23. Isaiah Bible | 26. Haller 1536 | 25. Mary [Annuncia- |
| 24. Timothy Bible | 27. Bucer 1551 | tion] Bible |
| 25. Paul [Conversion] Bible | 28. JOHN OF | 26. Liudger 809 |
| 26. PHLYCARP 167 | MONTE COR- | 27. Rupert 718 |
| 27. CHRYSTOSTOM 407 | VINO 1306 | 28. Von Goch 1475 |
| 28. Charlemagne 814 | 29. Ethelbert [assigned | 29. Eustace 625 |
| 29. Juventus, etc. 363 | also to 24th Feb- | 30. Heermann 1647 |
| 30. Henry Müller 1675 | ruary]. | 31. Ernst of Saxony 1675 |
| 31. HANS SACHS 1576 | | |

¹ As edited in Germany by Dr. Ferdinand Piper, corresponding with the names for all the days of the year in the *Improved Evangelical Calendar*. The lives translated into English and edited in the present work are printed in capitals. The figures after names indicate the year of some principal event in the life referred to, usually of its beginning or close.

COMPLETE ROLL OF LIVES — *Continued.*

| APRIL. | | MAY. | | JUNE. | |
|---------------------------------|-----------|------------------------------------|-------------|---------------------------------|------------|
| 1. Fritigil | A. D. 400 | 1. Philip and James | A. D. Bible | 1. OBERLIN | A. D. 1826 |
| 2. Theodocia | 307 | 2. ATHANASIUS | 373 | 2. BLANDINA | 177 |
| 3. Tersteegen | 1769 | 3. MONICA | 388 | 3. Clotilda | 540 |
| 4. AMBROSE | 397 | 4. Florian | 300 | 4. Quirinus | 300 |
| 5. Scriver | 1693 | 5. Frederick the Wise | 1525 | 5. BONIFACE | 755 |
| 6. Albert Dürer | 1528 | 6. John of Damascus | 754 | 6. Norbert | 1134 |
| 7. PETERSON | 1552 | 7. { Domatilla | 300 | 7. GERHARDT | 1676 |
| 8. Chemnitz | 1586 | 7. { Otto | 973 | 8. FRANCKE | 1727 |
| 9. Von Westen | 1727 | 8. Stanislaus | 1079 | 9. COLUMBA | 597 |
| 10. Fulbert | 1028 | 9. Gregory Nazianz | 390 | 10. Barbarossa | 1190 |
| 11. Leo the Great | 461 | 10. Heuglin | 1527 | 11. Barnabas | Bible |
| 12. Sabas | 372 | 11. John Arndt | 1621 | 12. RENATA | 1575 |
| 13. JUSTIN | 161 | 12. Meletius | 381 | 13. Le Febvre | 1702 |
| 14. Eecard | 1611 | 13. Servatius | 383 | 14. Basil | 379 |
| 15. Dach | 1659 | 14. Pachomius | 348 | 15. WILBER- | |
| 16. WALDO | 1197 | 15. Moses | Bible | FORCE | 1833 |
| 17. Mappalicus | 250 | 16. Five Lausanne Stu- | | 16. BAXTER | 1691 |
| 18. Luther [at Worms] | 1521 | dents | 1553 | 17. TAULER | 1361 |
| 19. MELANC- | | 17. Joachim | 1202 | 18. Pamphilus | 309 |
| THON | 1560 | 18. Martyrs under Valens | 370 | 19. { PAPHNU- | |
| 20. Bugenhagen | 1558 | 19. ALCUIN | 804 | TIUS | 325 |
| 21. ANSELM | 1109 | 20. Herberger | 1627 | { Council of Nice | 325 |
| 22. ORIGEN | 254 | 21. Constantine and Hel- | | 20. Martyrs of Prague | 1621 |
| { George, killer of | | ena | 337 | 21. CLAUDIUS | 1815 |
| 23. { Dragons | 200 | 22. Castus and Emilius | 300 | 22. Gottschalk | 1066 |
| { Adelbert | 997 | 23. SAVONAROLA | 1498 | 23. Gottfried Arnold | 1714 |
| 24. Wilfrid | 709 | 24. Cazalla | 1559 | 24. John the Baptist | Bible |
| 25. Mark | Bible | 25. AUSTIN OF | | 25. Augsburg Confes- | |
| 26. Trudpert | 643 | ENGLAND | 608 | sion | 1530 |
| 27. Catelin | 1554 | 26. BEDE | 735 | 26. John Andreä | 1654 |
| 28. Myconius | 1546 | 27. CALVIN | 1564 | 27. Seven Sleepers | 250 |
| 29. Berquin | 1529 | 28. Lanfranc | 1089 | 28. IRENÆUS | 202 |
| 30. Calixt | 1656 | 29. ZEISBERGER | 1808 | 29. Peter and Paul | Bible |
| | | 30. Jerome of Prague | 1416 | 30. Lull | 1315 |
| | | 31. Joachim Neander | 1780 | | |

COMPLETE ROLL OF LIVES — *Continued.*

| JULY. | | AUGUST. | | SEPTEMBER. | |
|--|---------|---|-----------|---|-------|
| | A. D. | | A. D. | | A. D. |
| 1. Martyrs at Brussels | 1523 | 1. Maccabees | Apocrypha | 1. Anna | Bible |
| 2. Mary [Visitation] | . Bible | 2. Martyrs under Nero | 64 | 2. Mamas | 274 |
| 3. { Otto of Bamberg | 1139 | 3. Thorp | 1407 | 3. HILDEGARD | 1197 |
| 4. PALEARIO | 1570 | 4. Kaiser | 1527 | 4. Ida von Herzfeld | 820 |
| 4. Ulrich of Augsburg | 973 | 5. Salzburgers | 1731 | 5. Mallio | 1553 |
| 5. OLDCASTLE | 1418 | 6. Christ [Transfigura- tion] | Bible | 6. Waibel | 1525 |
| 6. HUSS | 1415 | 7. Nonna | 374 | 7. Spengler | 1534 |
| 7. Willibald | 786 | 8. Hormisdas | 421 | 8. Corbinian | 730 |
| 8. Kilian | 639 | 9. Numidiens | 258 | 9. Paschal | 1560 |
| 9. Ephraim of Syria | 378 | 10. { LAWRENCE 70 Jerusalem Destroyed | | 10. Speratus | 1551 |
| 10. { Canute | 1036 | 11. Gregory of Utrecht | 775 | 11. BRENTZ | 1570 |
| 10. { WILLIAM OF ORANGE | 1584 | 12. Anselm of Havelberg | 1158 | 12. Peloquin | 1553 |
| 11. Placidus | 630 | 13. ZINZENDORF | 1760 | 13. FAREL | 1565 |
| 12. Henry of Germany | 1024 | 14. GUTHRIE | 1661 | 14. { CYPRIAN | 258 |
| 13. Eugenius | 505 | 15. Mary | Bible | 14. { Dante | 1321 |
| 14. Bonaventura | 1274 | 16. John the Wise | 1532 | 15. Grumbach | 1554 |
| 15. Ansver | 1066 | 17. Gerhard | 1637 | 16. Euphemia | 311 |
| 16. ANNA ASKEW | 1546 | 18. Grotius | 1645 | 17. Lambert | 709 |
| 17. Martyrs of Scillita | 200 | 19. Sebald | 800 | 18. Spangenberg | 1792 |
| 18. Arnulf | 640 | 20. BERNARD | 1157 | 19. Thomas St. Paul | 1551 |
| 19. Louisa Henrietta | 1667 | 21. Moravian Missions | 1732 | 20. MAGDALENA LUTHER | 1542 |
| 20. Marteilhe | 1723 | 22. Symphorianus | 180 | 21. Matthew | Bible |
| 21. Eberhard | 1496 | 23. COLIGNY | 1572 | 22. Mauritius | 302 |
| 22. Mary Magdalene | Bible | 24. Bartholomew | Bible | 23. LABORIE [Five Martyrs] | 1555 |
| 23. Gottfried of Hamelle | 1552 | 25. LOUIS | 1270 | 24. Moser | 1785 |
| 24. THOMAS À KEMPIS | 1471 | 26. ULFILAS | 388 | 25. { RABAUT | 1795 |
| 25. James | Bible | 27. Jovinian | 400 | 25. { Peace of Augsburg | 1555 |
| 26. Christopher | | 28. AUGUSTINE | 430 | 26. Lioba | 779 |
| 27. Palmarius | 1200 | 29. John Baptist Be- headed | Bible | 27. Graveron | 1557 |
| 28. Bach | 1750 | 30. CLAUDIUS | 839 | 28. Cologne Martyrs | 1529 |
| 29. Olaf | 1030 | 31. AIDAN | 651 | 29. Michael | Bible |
| 30. WESSEL | 1489 | | | 30. JEROME | 420 |
| 31. Schade | 1698 | | | | |

COMPLETE ROLL OF LIVES—*Continued.*

| OCTOBER. | | NOVEMBER. | | DECEMBER. | |
|---------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------|-------|
| | A. D. | | A. D. | | A. D. |
| 1. REMY | 545 | 1. All Saints | | 1. Eligius | 659 |
| 2. Schmid | 1564 | 2. Victorinus | 304 | 2. Ruysbroeck | 1381 |
| 3. Ewalds | 695 | 3. Pirmin | 753 | 3. Groot | 1384 |
| 4. Francis | 1226 | 4. BENGEL | 1752 | 4. Gerhard of Zütphen | 1398 |
| 5. Carnesecchi | 1567 | 5. EGEDE | 1751 | 5. Crispina | 304 |
| 6. Henry Albert | 1651 | 6. GUSTAVUS | | 6. Nicolas of Myra | 400 |
| 7. BEZA | 1605 | ADOLPHUS | 1632 | 7. { Odontius | 1605 |
| 8. Grosthead | 1253 | 7. Willibrord | 739 | 7. { Hiller | 1769 |
| 9. Dionysius | Bible | 8. Willehad | 789 | 8. Rinkard | 1649 |
| 10. Jonas | 1555 | 9. Staupitz | 1524 | 9. Schmolek | 1737 |
| 11. ZWINGLE | 1531 | 10. LUTHER | 1546 | 10. Eber | 1569 |
| 12. Bullinger | 1575 | 11. Martin of Tours | 400 | 11. Henry of Zütphen | 1524 |
| 13. ELIZ. FRY | 1845 | 12. Von Mornay | 1623 | 12. { SPIRIDION | 325 |
| 14. REDLEY | 1555 | 13. Arcadius | 437 | 12. { Vicelin | 1154 |
| 15. Aurelia | 500 | 14. Vermigli | 1562 | 13. { Odilia | 720 |
| 16. GALL | 635 | 15. Keppler | 1630 | 13. { Berthold | 1272 |
| 17. Edict of Nantes | | 16. Creuziger | 1548 | 14. Dioscurus | 250 |
| [revoked] | 1685 | 17. Bernward | 1022 | 15. Christiana | 330 |
| 18. Luke | Bible | 18. Gregory of Armenia | 331 | 16. Adelheid | 999 |
| 19. Bruno of Cologne | 965 | 19. Elizabeth of Hesse | 1231 | 17. Sturm | 779 |
| 20. Lambert | 1530 | 20. JOHN WILL- | | 18. Seckendorf | 1692 |
| 21. Hilary the Hermit | 372 | IAMS | 1839 | 19. Clement of Egypt | 220 |
| 22. Hedwig | 1243 | 21. COLUMBAN | 615 | 20. Abraham | Bible |
| 23. HENRY MAR- | | 22. GECOLAMPA- | | 21. Thomas | Bible |
| TYN | 1812 | DIUS | 1531 | 22. MACKAIL | 1666 |
| { Arethas | 522 | 23. CLEMENT | 100 | 23. Du Bourg | 1559 |
| { Peace of Westpha- | | 24. JOHN KNOX | 1572 | 24. Adam, Eve | Bible |
| lia | 1648 | 25. Catharine of Egypt | 306 | 25. Christmas | Bible |
| 25. John Hess | 1547 | 26. Conrad of Constanz | 976 | 26. Stephen | Bible |
| 26. Frederick the Elector | 1576 | 27. Margaret Blaarer | 1541 | 27. John | Bible |
| 27. Frumentius | 356 | 28. ROUSSEL | 1728 | 28. Innocents | Bible |
| 28. Simon and Jude | Bible | 29. Saturninus | 250 | 29. David | Bible |
| 29. ALFRED THE | | 30. Andrew | Bible | 30. Christopher [Duke] | 1568 |
| GREAT | 900 | | | 31. JOHN WICLIF | 1384 |
| 30. Sturm | 1553 | | | | |
| 31. Luther's Theses | 1517 | | | | |

III.

STATISTICS OF OUR CHURCH UNIVERSAL

BY DENOMINATIONS AND COUNTRIES, SHOWING, FOR THE WHOLE EARTH, THE NUMBER OF CONGREGATIONS PROFESSING THE CHRISTIAN NAME.

AMERICA, OCEANICA, AND AFRICA.

| | United States. | Canada. | Other lands of N. A. | South America. | Oceanica. | Africa. |
|--------------------------------------|----------------|---------|----------------------|----------------|-----------|---------|
| 1. Lutheran | 3,888 | 140 | - | - | - | } 112 |
| 2. Reformed (German) | 1,347 | - | - | - | - | |
| 3. Reformed (Dutch) | 506 | - | - | - | - | - |
| 4. Presbyterian | 7,157 | †733 | †25 | †19 | 398 | 207 |
| 5. Presbyterian, United | 783 | - | - | - | - | 20 |
| 6. Presbyterian, Cumb. | 1,872 | - | - | - | - | - |
| 7. Episcopal | 2,980 | †546 | †10 | - | 200 | 50 |
| 8. Baptist | †14,954 | 710 | 166 | - | 135 | 54 |
| 9. Methodist Episcopal | †18,304 | †267 | - | 8 | - | - |
| 10. Methodist | †2,010 | 1,385 | - | - | †301 | 100 |
| 11. Congregational | 3,333 | 190 | - | - | 100 | 1000 |
| 12. Evangelical Association. | 1,354 | 150 | - | - | - | - |
| 13. United Brethren | 1,442 | †30 | - | - | - | - |
| 14. Disciples | 2,000 | †100 | - | - | - | - |
| All others | 1,900 | 100 | - | - | - | - |

UNREFORMED ORGANIZATIONS.

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------|--------|--------|--------|---|----------|
| 1. Roman Catholic | 6,920 | †1,012 | *5,000 | *8,000 | - | - |
| 2. Greek Catholic | 2 | - | - | - | - | - |
| 3. Old Catholic | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 4. Armenian | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 5. Nestorian | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 6. Jacobite | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 7. Copt | - | - | - | - | - | } *3,000 |
| 8. Abyssinian | - | - | - | - | - | |

EUROPE.

| | England and Wales. | Scotland. | Ireland. | Holland and Belgium. | Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. | Russia. |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------|----------|----------------------|------------------------------|---------|
| 1. Lutheran | - | - | - | *320 | *7,754 | *2,000 |
| 2. Reformed (German) | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 3. Reformed (Dutch) | - | - | - | *1,700 | - | - |
| 4. Presbyterian | 1,356 | 2,555 | 601 | - | 3 | 40 |
| 5. Presbyterian, United | - | 526 | - | - | - | - |
| 6. Presbyterian, Cumb. | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 7. Episcopal | 4,000 | 134 | 400 | - | - | - |
| 8. Baptist | 2,501 | 90 | 29 | *115 | 289 | 9 |
| 9. Methodist Episcopal | - | - | - | 11 | - | - |
| 10. Methodist | 5,238 | 82 | †208 | - | - | - |
| 11. Congregational | 3,069 | 192 | 30 | 10 | - | - |
| 12. Evangelical Association. | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 13. United Brethren | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 14. Disciples | 437 | - | - | - | - | - |
| All others | - | - | - | - | - | - |

UNREFORMED ORGANIZATIONS.

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------|-----|-------|--------|----|---------|
| 1. Roman Catholic | *1,261 | 117 | 3,500 | *6,378 | *3 | *6,700 |
| 2. Greek Catholic | - | - | - | - | - | *55,000 |
| 3. Old Catholic | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 4. Armenian | - | - | - | - | - | 170 |
| 5. Nestorian | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 6. Jacobite | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 7. Copt | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 8. Abyssinian | - | - | - | - | - | - |

The † denotes number of pastors, instead of number of congregations.

The * denotes number of congregations estimated one for every thousand of population

EUROPE (*Continued*).

| | Austria. | Italy. | Switzerland | Germany. | France. | Other Lands |
|---------------------------------------|----------|---------|-------------|------------|---------|-------------|
| 1. Lutheran | *1,250 | - | - | { 19,700 } | 450 | - |
| 2. Reformed (German) | - | - | *1,000 | { 230 } | - | - |
| 3. Reformed (French) | - | - | *500 | - | *586 | 12 |
| 4. Presbyterian | 2,075 | 56 | - | - | - | - |
| 5. Presbyterian, United | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 6. Presbyterian, Cumb. | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 7. Episcopal | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 8. Baptist | - | 20 | 3 | 86 | 12 | 12 |
| 9. Methodist Episcopal | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 10. Methodist | - | - | - | 5 | - | - |
| 11. Congregational | - | - | - | 10 | - | - |
| 12. Evangelical Association | - | - | - | 29 | - | - |
| 13. United Brethren | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 14. Disciples | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| All others | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| UNREFORMED ORGANIZATIONS. | | | | | | |
| 1. Roman Catholic | *27,904 | *26,725 | *1,085 | 12,000 | *38,500 | 21,309 |
| 2. Greek Catholic | *3,053 | *5 | - | 5 | - | 12,022 |
| 3. Old Catholic | - | - | - | 121 | - | 2,000 |
| 4. Armenian | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 5. Nestorian | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 6. Jacobite | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 7. Copt | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 8. Abyssinian | - | - | - | - | - | - |

ASIA.

| | West Asia and Persia. | India, Burmah, and Siam. | China. | Japan. | Rest of Asia. | Total. |
|--|-----------------------|--------------------------|--------|--------|---------------|----------|
| 1. Lutheran | - | 68 | - | - | - | 35,425 |
| 2. Reformed (German) | - | 15 | 18 | - | - | 2,722 |
| 3. Reformed (Dutch & French) | - | 10 | 7 | 13 | - | 3,384 |
| 4. Presbyterian | 27 | 80 | 45 | 5 | - | 15,362 |
| 5. Presbyterian, United | - | 10 | 3 | 8 | - | 1,359 |
| 6. Presbyterian, Cumb. | - | - | - | - | - | 1,872 |
| 7. Episcopal | - | - | - | - | - | 7,360 |
| 8. Baptist | 1 | 526 | 20 | 2 | 27 | 17,968 |
| 9. Methodist Episcopal | - | 43 | { 51 } | 5 | - | 18,665 |
| 10. Methodist | - | 40 | { 39 } | - | - | 9,299 |
| 11. Congregational | - | 75 | 50 | - | - | 7,984 |
| 12. Evangelical Association | - | - | - | - | - | 1,383 |
| 13. United Brethren | - | - | - | - | - | 1,472 |
| 14. Disciples | - | - | - | - | - | 2,537 |
| All others | - | - | - | - | - | *2,000 |
| Grand Total | | | | | | 128,452 |
| UNREFORMED ORGANIZATIONS. | | | | | | |
| 1. Roman Catholic | - | - | - | - | - | *201,000 |
| 2. Greek Catholic | - | - | - | - | - | *71,000 |
| 3. Old Catholic | - | - | - | - | - | 121 |
| 4. Armenian | *39 | - | - | - | - | *12,022 |
| 5. Nestorian | *105 | - | - | - | - | *105 |
| 6. Jacobite | 200 | - | - | - | - | *200 |
| 7. Copt | - | - | - | - | - | { *3,000 |
| 8. Abyssinian | - | - | - | - | - | |

¹ Of these, all but 1,500 are "Evangelical," and include both Lutheran and Reformed.

The * denotes number of congregations estimated one for every thousand of population.

The above Table of Statistics of the church throughout the earth by denominations and congregations has been constructed (no similar table being known) on the latest denominational reports at hand, or upon the statements of cyclopædias. It of necessity is very imperfect, yet may serve to show in what lands each denomination prevails, and also to indicate the slight degree in which some portions of the globe have been possessed by the church. Possibly it may serve beside to suggest to some student of statistics the preparation of a like table of greater fullness and accuracy. — H. M. M.

IV.

INDEX OF ONE THOUSAND BIOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATIONS, FOR THE USE OF THE PREACHER AND OF THE TEACHER IN THE SABBATH-SCHOOL.

NOTE FOR THE ASSISTANCE OF THOSE HAVING THIS WORK IN THREE PARTS.

All references to pages 1-264 are to Part First. — Earlier Leaders.

All references to pages 265-540 are to Part Second. — Later Leaders — Europe.

All references to pages 541-856 are to Part Third. — Later Leaders — America, Asia, Africa, and Oceania

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p style="text-align: center;">A.</p> <p>ABSENT-MINDEDNESS, 215.</p> <p>ABSOLUTION, 248.</p> <p>ADAPTIVENESS, 189, 538.</p> <p>ADVENTURES, 299, 331.</p> <p>ADVERSITY, 147. (See <i>Trials</i>.)</p> <p>AFFLICTION, 307. (See <i>Trials</i>.)</p> <p>AMBITION, 81, 432.</p> <p>ANGELS, 277.</p> <p>ANGER, 583.</p> <p>ANTI-POPERY, 38, 131, 158, 161, 166, 198, 220, 221, 225, 241, 248, 253, 266, 285, 298, 720.</p> <p>ANTISLAVERY, 529, 530, 559, 561, 724, 743, 768.</p> <p>APOSTLES, 3, 14, 15.</p> <p>ASCETICISM, 8, 57, 202. (See <i>Monkery</i>.)</p> <p>AUTHORSHIP, 26, 111, 146, 189, 215. (See <i>Books</i>.)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">B.</p> <p>BACKSLIDING, 102.</p> <p>BAPTISM, 103, 275.</p> <p>BEAUTY, 432, 481.</p> <p>BENEDICTION, 121, 124, 194.</p> <p>BEREAVEMENT, 275, 278, 319.</p> <p>BIBLE, 13, 23, 73, 156, 159, 165, 175, 182, 204, 210, 218, 243, 244, 253, 260, 266, 268, 280, 310, 324, 327, 382, 383, 388, 400, 410, 462, 466, 816, 823, 844.</p> <p>BIBLE STUDY, 25, 95, 97, 204, 235, 237, 293, 470.</p> <p>BLESSEDNESS, 198.</p> <p>BOOKS, 136, 152, 191, 216, 225, 227, 253,</p> | <p>272, 282, 293, 294, 305, 343, 357, 373, 415, 458, 513, 522, 528, 555, 829.</p> <p>BOYHOOD, 170.</p> <p>BROTHERS, 195, 517, 523.</p> <p>BROTHERHOOD, 604, 656.</p> <p>BRAVERY, 126, 254, 267, 268, 271.</p> <p>BURIALS, 278, 300, 341, 421, 446, 533, 607, 631, 787.</p> <p>BUSINESS, 229, 466.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">C.</p> <p>CALL TO LIFE WORK, 292.</p> <p>CALL TO THE MINISTRY, 87, 109, 170, 176, 186, 195, 603, 663, 731.</p> <p>CARDS, 262, 475.</p> <p>CATECHISM, 269, 294, 297, 301, 303, 304, 305, 450, 463, 512, 567, 588.</p> <p>CELIBACY, 57, 325.</p> <p>CHARITY, 120, 124, 125, 151, 179, 196, 464, 528, 534, 537, 538, 539, 597, 748.</p> <p>CHASTITY, 71.</p> <p>CHEERFULNESS, 296.</p> <p>CHILDHOOD, 63, 86.</p> <p>CHILDLIKENESS, 272.</p> <p>CHILDREN, 276, 277, 494.</p> <p>CHRISTIAN COMMUNION, 20.</p> <p>CHRISTIAN LOVE, 199.</p> <p>CHRISTMAS, 98.</p> <p>CHRIST'S PERSON, 1, 3, 6, 31, 64, 98, 154, 158, 191, 200, 374, 473.</p> <p>CHRIST'S RIGHTEOUSNESS, 197.</p> <p>CHRIST'S WORK, 6, 98.</p> <p>CHURCH AND STATE, 145, 156, 171, 174, 190, 192, 241, 249, 256, 260, 268, 286,</p> |
|---|--|

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